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BACK TO SANITY

a study in human possibilities

by

Y. G. KRISHNAMURTI

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Preface

The Great War has been fought and won in Europe by the allied nations against Germany. Peace yet remains to be won. Problems of a fundamental nature face the world. The great problem is to define the relations between individuals and individuals, the individual and the State and States and States. The War has reduced the position of the individual *vis-a-vis* the State even in countries which used to take pride in allowing freedom to him. There is no sign in the horizon that those who have led the victorious nations yet realise the costliness, not only in men and materials but also in morals, and the ultimate futility of war. The foundations of peace are being laid once again on armaments, and it is not difficult to imagine that time will show that the foundations are being laid on shifty sands and not on firm rock. There is one encouraging sign, however, which is discernible. Leaders of thought all the world over are not satisfied and searching questions are being put and answered. Thought is always the precursor of action. Politicians and war leaders are bound to fall in line with the leaders of thought, although there may be a long time lag. Modern civilisation must recognise that if it has to survive, it must replace hatred by love, exploitation by service, domination by co-operation, right by duty, acquisition by renunciation, coercion

by consent, enforced obedience by self-imposed discipline, and imposed submission by voluntary surrender. Mahatma Gandhi has placed before the world a new philosophy, a new technique and a new programme of action. It is not a passive acceptance but a dynamic challenge. It may not be accepted now but it cannot be ignored. He has spoken and written much. A rich literature has grown up around him and his philosophy and is being increased from day to day. What is more he has tried to live it and illustrate it in his own activities.

Shri Y. G. Krishnamurti is one of those who are contributing to the growth of this literature. Widely read in the lore of the west, he has imbibed deeply from the fountain of Indian thought. He is a prolific writer and has many works of merit to his credit. "BACK TO SANITY" is his latest and is an attempt to place the Gandhian concept in the setting of latest western thought. The reader will find in it something that provokes, something that stimulates thought.

Camp Simla,

The 11th July, 1945. Rajendra Prasad.

Introduction

On every side in the world, there are slogans raised of a New World Order, and those that voice them forth loudest are perhaps the least progressive in their plans and purposes. A *bona fide* international order in spite of San Francisco, is yet to be evolved which will ensure self-respect and peace to the colonial, dependent and mandated countries of the world; for the three big powers of the day, together with their two smaller colleagues, are visibly and unabashedly striving to hold them still under their thumbs. Peace and Independence are, doubtless, not gifts that one nation may make to another but they may be successfully withheld by the bullies from their victims, and for this wicked state of affairs to cease, a purification of heart is needed more than a mere cerebration of brains. The even progress of the world means a sustained play of the world's forces on the arena of peace and prosperity to all. History, however, is defined by Gandhi in his Hind Swaraj as "the record of the interruptions of the even working of the force of Love or of the Soul"—in the inter-relations of individuals or nations. "It is really an interruption of the course of Nature, Soul force being natural is not noted in History." And all the moans and sobs and strifes of the world have been all along directed towards the sustained operation of this most wonderful and most potent of all forces—the soul force, which produces its best results where men

indistinctively perceive the law of oneness, and work out the law in a spirit of fellowship and co-operation, on the principle of 'one for all and all for one.' This healthy principle has, through the weary centuries of man's civilized life, sought self-expression through various movements, through widely differing political philosophies, through social law and civic institutions. through religions bound by creed or dominated by doctrine, through diverse systems of ethics and principles of altruism, through a combination of socio-economic policies which have engendered the notable Isms of the day. It was thus that the individual life of men gave place to clan life and tribal life tending to national and finally to international life. And every time we survey the present in the light of the past and forecast the future by the experiences of the present, we are confronted with the different devices contrived by great men of the past and the present to guarantee happiness and prosperity to all mankind. Thus have come into being the several Isms which are at war with one another to-day in spite of a common purpose,—which claim votaries that lay pretensions to an exclusive possession of the truth, which flourish their doctrines and dogmas as the sole panacea for the ills of mankind, which proclaim their wares as the real elixir of life, which advertise their remedies as the one talisman that dispels the demons of starvation, nakedness and homelessness. Let us cast a passing glance at some of these, the more notable amongst them and see whether wading through them we can find in them the Magic Wand or the Philosopher's Stone that, by one wave or one touch, can convert the baser material into the beneficent.

Socialism, when it started was really the "reaction against the enlargement of man by turning him into a thing, an instrument, a mere depersonalized adjunct of machine." It held forth the vision of a Social Order in which freedom of thought would be the need as then all men would naturally think and feel alike on all questions. That was why Ramsay MacDonald said that "the individual is not an end in himself but the means to that far off Divine event to which the whole creation moves." To his mind the State represented the political personality of the whole. It thinks and feels for the whole. This is a kind of Totalitarianism, for the small scale individual enterprise would be replaced by large scale Collective Economics so that the individual is treated as a part of the machine, as a cell in the organism. "There soon came," in the words of Will Herberg, "a confusion between the means and the ends, between Collectivism which is the means and Freedom, the end, the means became the end, and Collectivism has become not an Economic device for Freedom but a metaphysical principle, a quasi religious dogma, a kind of higher existence transcending individual isolation and selffishness."*

Socialism of the present day is largely a deferred solution. If we may employ the language of commercialism, it is a deferred share that entitles the owner to the participation of profits at some remote time. It is a philosophy rather than a practical programme of life. Even so, it neglects the development of the personality of the individual and absorbs it in the larger personality of society and the State. In the adjust-

* Jewish Frontier, Sep. 1944 "The Crisis in Socialism".

ment of principles to practical needs, socialism loses adjustments and such issues is said to be due, in the sight of the moral issues; and its inability to face such words of Reinhold Niebuhr (Moral Man and Immortal Society), "to the want of resources of an adequate ethic." Mere moral enthusiasm for equality,—a vague, ethereal term altogether,—and for freedom and the recognition of social injustice coupled with a desire to remove it, is not Socialism, nor is it a mere academic and eloquent condemnation of wealth and a theoretical respect for poverty, as stated by Christ, and even, in Hinduism. As is universally known, what is called Modern Socialism is a reaction against Capitalistic Society and its class antagonisms. That the Communist has planned his revolution on the basis of a classless society gives a moral dignity to his cult. It is the fight in both cases against the special privileges that make all men enjoying them dishonest, but he kills the soul and the personality of man. English society is based upon the essential principle of accepting the classes and the masses as two divisions that may never meet and the bottom layers of the latter are always striving to rise to the level of the top strata of the former.

In other words, Socialism with them is the cult of raising the status of the havenots to that of the haves by pleading for the Socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange. The English Socialist is not against private property and generally is found to be desiring and even anxious to earn wealth, live well and want others to do likewise, knowing fully that such a consummation is beyond the capacity of the vast majority of the population for whom he



expresses and affects pity. The Communist negatives the cult of property, although in its later transposition, the pendulum has swung to the centre from he end of aristocracy on one side and the end of negation of property on the other.

An interesting comparison has been drawn between the Continental and German Socialists have always had a Marxian influence, the English Socialists and the Fabians have had little use for conflicts of class nature. Yet the former have not been more revolutionary than the latter. The latter stand for a type of ethical Socialism which is only advanced liberalism. In Germany and in the Continent the State has placed restrictions on rents, interest and dividends and that completely destroyed the anatomy of economic society. The British Socialists have sprung from the middle classes and therefore the Fabians have protested against the absurdity of Socialism denouncing that very middle class. The British Socialist has immense faith in parliamentarianism and a kind of advanced liberalism. He is ethically minded and has been somewhat hostile to Labour, though he had conceded the power to Labour to organise and work their programme through a system of severe income-tax and the State is expected to utilise the revenues for economic purposes, such as, the removal of unemployment, insurance schemes, old age pensions, workman's liability Acts and to restore to Labour that security which the economic system tended to rob it of. British Socialism is, therefore, the result of a certain co-operation of forces attained by the Labour and the propertied classes, the latter perhaps unwillingly yielding to the demands of

* Moral man and immoral society p. 201. (Reinhold Niebuhr).

the former. It was thus that the Arbitration Act of 1867 and the Education Act of 1870 and the Sanitary Code of 1875 were all passed before the advent of the Labour Party. The day is far off in Britain when the Labour Party winning the majority in the polls, will be able to implement a rational, social ideal in actual practice and readjust the conflicting interests and powers to one another. They are all at one in eschewing violence as the means of establishing a new social order so that they have been described by the authors "as 'naive' when they are honest and detestable when they are humbugs." Day by day we notice how the so-called parliamentary socialism of Britain presents the dismal story of repeated apostacies because all negotiations must be done by leaders who are increasingly drawn up into the government fold and aspire to find their places as Peers of the Realm in the Upper House. In other words, the very people who have carried on a tirade against the slovenly aristocrats and denounced the Upper Chamber, end their life by seeking a comfortable berth in those inaccessible quarters.

The reader's attention has been drawn to these facts at length because so often the Indian Socialist wants to win an international position and reputation not by any sort of sustained service that he may render to the poor, to the naked and the homeless, but by repeating certain slogans which are current coin in British Society and Western Politics. Such a Socialist, therefore, is a clear warning to the Indian mind and Indian aspiration under Gandhi's lead. Gandhism also is a type of socialism but one which has an immediate programme, and a ready one,—a hard, stern, exacting, day-to-day plan of work in which, not at a distant

future and not under remote conditions of a contingent character, but to-day at this very moment, you will have to put your hand to the wheel and help the cause of the poor by adding an anna to their day's income, by putting a morsel into their starving stomachs and by spreading a leaf over their roofless shelter. It is based upon an over-riding sense of duty, which the well-placed have to discharge towards the ill-placed, which the haves must adopt in relation to the havenots. The theory of the rich holding their wealth in trust for the poor may appear somewhat farfetched but it is the highest refinement, being a theory which works in practice and makes every home a charity house and every citizen a benefactor to his poor neighbours.

Few indeed are the people in the world that have successfully changed the course of world's history, and if Tagore's estimate of Gandhi's achievement is correct, Gandhi is one such undoubtedly. Gandhi is not a recluse resorting to mountains or forests, sitting by the side of the sea or on he banks of a river, besmeared with ashes, semi-naked, braving the scorching sun of the day or the freezing cold of the night, but a citizen of the world, "leading a life of activity, a full life in every sense and always panting for life,—more life, a larger, richer, more-satisfying life" for the spiritual and ethical uplift of mankind, for the better realization of the ends of religion. The life of such a personality must be full of trials and tribulations. of conflicts and even contradictions, of which principles that have failed of purpose in translation into practical politics, of philosophical altitudes that have baffled the endeavours of Statesmen to soar into their inaccessible heights. Humanity and love cannot be nursed

and fostered in an atmosphere of exploitation 'of the dark, demonical passions of the human soul.' What matters to Gandhi,—and matters very much—is not the ends to be attained but means of attaining them so that the moral level may not sink to base depths. Moral principles may never be subordinated to practical necessity. To Gandhi's mind, the individual man is no longer a poor, miserable fragment, an insignificant cell of the great social organism absorbed into the group and losing all sense of personality. This freedom and development are factors of national concern and national growth. His is not the cult that fosters hatred and fanaticism and nurtures intolerance, as militant virtues. Envy, suspicion and ill-will have no place in a New Social Order based upon sanity and good-will to fellow men. His is the task of the "achievement of Collectivism without sacrificing political freedom and the value of individual personality." The principles quoted by Max Nomad with the aid of which the Socialists in Italy faced the terrorists of Early Fascism may well be quoted as representing the Gandhian cult as well which is bound to lead he world back to sanity:—

1. Create a void around Fascism.
2. Do not provoke but suffer any provocation with serenity .
3. To win, you must be better than your adversary.
4. Do not use the weapons of your adversary—nor, follow his footsteps.
5. Remember that the blood of Guerilla warfare falls upon those who shed it.

6. In a struggle between brothers those are Victors who conquer themselves.

7. Be convinced that it is better to suffer wrong than to commit it.

8. Don't be impatient. Impatience is extremely egotistical; it is an instinct; it is yielding to one's Ego-urge.

9. Do not forget that Socialism wins the more when it suffers, because it was born in pain and lives on its hopes.

10. Listen to the mind and to the heart which advise you that the working people should be nearer to sacrifice than to vengeance.

25-7-1945.
Masulipatam

B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

Acknowledgments

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If this volume is an attempt at a conspectus of the present age it is due to the valuable guidance of Prof. S. Srikantha Sastri. He has taught me to sink the artist in the truth-seeker.

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Mr. M. P. Basrur has made a start as a publisher with this volume. I hope he has not backed the wrong horse.

Y. G.

Illustrations

Portrait of Mahatma Gandhi
by V. A. Mali

Mahatma Gandhi with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
by S. V. Gurgar

Mahatma Gandhi with the Ashram calf
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Mahatma Gandhi with Dr. Sushila Nayyar
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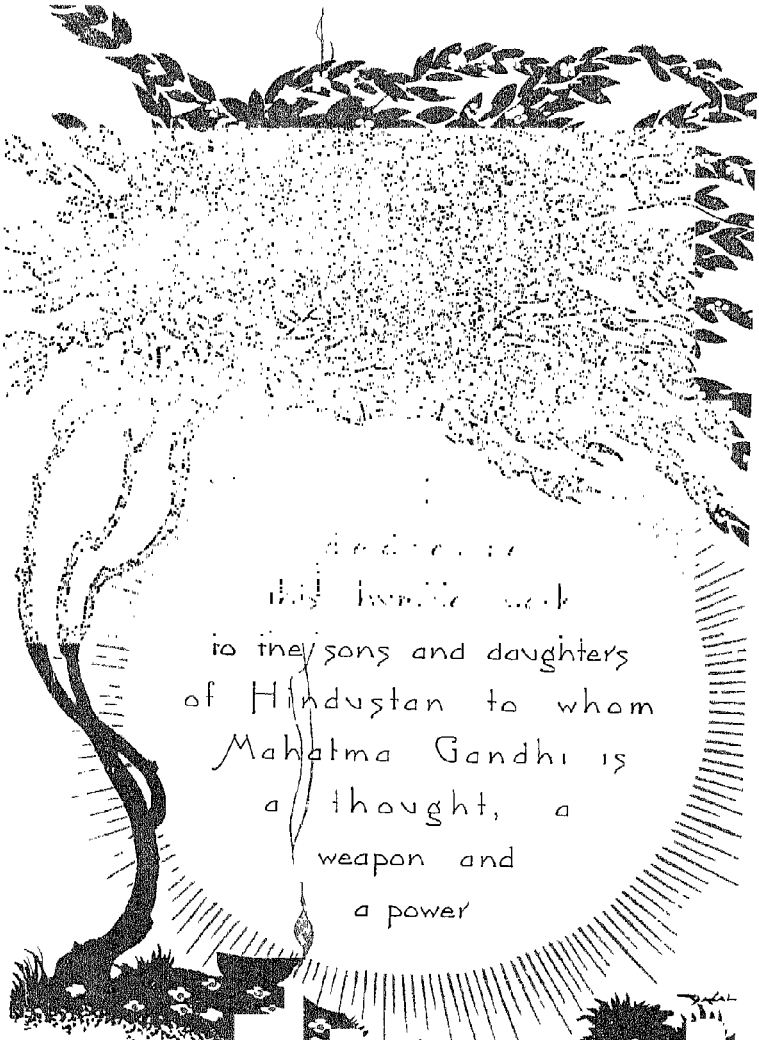
Portrait of Dr. Rajendra Prasad
by D. D. Dalal

Portrait of Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
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Dedication Design
by D. D. Dalal

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dedicates
this humble work
to the sons and daughters
of Hindustan to whom
Mahatma Gandhi is
a thought, a
weapon and
a power

I

The Destiny of Man

1

OUT of the confusion and ferment of to-day, a new humanist tradition, full of warmth and savour, will rise. This period will mark the conversion of man to a new faith that is maturing.

This little planet had to wait for four hundred million years for the emergence of man. For a moment man forgot his proud spiritual impulses. He shut his eyes to his ultimate destiny which lay large and splendid before him. He saw the highest degree of life and reality in a vicIated element in society. And, his conception of life, denuded of every feeling, of every vital urge, became stark and bare.

We are now witnessing the first fruits of his reaction against a decadent and less welcome aspect of life. He has come to grips with the process of disintegration.

Hope is in the air. The sense of acute dissatisfaction, of betrayal has dawned on the common man. He has realised that the hangman cannot be a refuge of security.

The shock of becoming conscious of one's meaningless existence lies behind his present attitude. There may be no idyll. But something should replace the agony. He has also realised that there is nothing like progress in isolation. His destiny should merge in the social movement. This concrete experience has a living relation to the world revolution embodying this idea. To him the post-war hero is a humanist, the young God of will and energy, of love and vision.

II

The advance in physical sciences has given man mastery over lifeless matter. But it has failed to develop in him a new outlook on the world around him. It is an erroneous view which assumes man as the single lord of created life. He is among billions a dot of animated jelly.

Bernard Shaw quite legitimately looks at man as the servant and instrument of an evolutionary process. To Julian Huxley man is an exceedingly complex piece of chemical machinery. To gain a complete picture of this forked cabbage his history, the physical construction and the working of the mental process should be clearly grasped.

In the epic of man we see the Life Force being integrated at ever higher levels. This adaptation is slow and progressive. Man like other species can change his way of life and thus enter on a new evolutionary destiny.

The biologists remind us that the hairs on our body are a proof of our descent from furry ancestors. The individual is only a fleshy case of an evolving race.

In the chemical construction of his body a small fraction of 3 per cent is devoted for the adaptation of his behaviour to the environment.

In the ladder of evolution man stands unique. A desert gazelle needs no water, a tapeworm has no stomach and some cave animals have no eyes. Our physical construction is subtle and sperior to other species. We can see colours, hear air-vibrations, think conceptually, handle tools, laugh and worship and be aware of radiant heat and light. It is strange that we have not yet developed a strong will to live peacefully and co-operatively.

It is biologically necessary for man to develop co-operative attitudes. It is his biological responsibility not to exterminate his own types. In the contemporary man's emotional make-up a liberal dose of tolerance is needed.

The way the war-lords think is surely not the only way in which thinking can be done. It is heartening to hear Prof. Bergson saying that our thinking processes are adapted to practical needs. The human mind can also forget. We have a great deal to forget and a great deal more to think anew.

III

It is impossible for us to live in a community in which murder-machines are a reality and a seal of truth. It is equally terrible to live in a world where man has ceased to aspire and plan a freer and fuller life.

The human race is yet immature. As life is everlasting the human evolution must press forward to

some permanent value. Cataclysms and stagnation, advances and regressions are its inevitable phases. Man cannot be turned down into oblivion. He has a limitless future before him.

Sir Oliver Lodge regards man as an unfinished article. He holds that personality of man is a fundamental existence. This fundamental part of each individual survives death. Another synoptic thinker Winwood Reade considers the belief in immortality as a handicap and not a stimulus. D. H. Lawrence writes "One does not die."

We have now learnt that the departed man still possesses his memory, character and personality. He has also a clear relation to space and time. Therefore, mere conservation of Matter is not enough. Speculation should be strengthened in the direction of the conservation of Life and Mind.

Our sense-organs and instruments cannot fully comprehend the majesty of existence. Death releases the spiritual element from the matter-body. The episode of our earth life is no doubt brief. Its anguish and rapture have a chastening effect on us. They are of supreme value for the future stages of our development.

Science has only emphasised the rationality of the universe. The evolutionary effort that has gone to the making of man has a permanence and a value. In the pageant of eternity our little agonies are just a flash in the pan. Our heritage can never be bombed out. Our cry should therefore be for a more meaningful life and a richer immortality. Says Prof. Santayana :

"The spirit is not dead in the lull between its seasons of steady blowing. Who knows which of them may not gather force presently and carry the mind of the present age steadily before it?"

Man should draw himself nearer the fount of history and nourish on its life-giving draughts. The legend of the ages constitutes the active past in which humanity is rooted and grows. Action is the present and through it man should mould the future. His nerves should become acquiver with the pulse of change. To be lost in regrets is to be fascinated by a regressive image. To live firmly, justly and serenely means to be moved by the profound forces which vibrate and ferment on earth.

Therefore, the present mighty convulsion is a striving towards a fresh enthusiasm in human effort. A progressive and extroverted faith beckons man along an uphill path. The individual on whose forehead violence has stamped its code is developing a belief in the healing power of love. This exaltation is no other than the old hates transformed into a new social fervour.

The evolutionary spirit should permeate the outlook of man. The Belgian poet Verhaeren writes "one lives in all that moves, that fights, that quivers." Only by inward struggle man can reach the heights of fervent beauty. He is a wretched creature now but he can apprehend perfection.

Verhaeren cries, "Life, so contradictory and so intoxicating." Life can also express a reconciliation, a serenity. A balance between power and gentleness,

intelligence and passion and will and self-effacement is the purest expression of this new faith.

From the summits to base the structure of man's life is crashing. He has not yet learned to consider violence as a degrading emotion. To those who love the future Verhaeren dedicates the fragment :

Foul war has not undermined your upright will
To be a man of struggle, but not a man of terror,
To be one who hates to his very bones and to his very bowels
The teeming horror of blows and of battles.

The most splendid of the human battles is fought in the deeps of one's heart. By sublimating the remnants of selfishness into a higher dream man can reach the peak of his ascent which is healing and peace. This inner victory is essentially a conquest of a new equilibrium. It is the eloquent passion for humanity. It is Back to Sanity.

There is a remedy to the spiritual distempers of our age. The universal rhythm will impose its ideas on men and have it carried out. No doubt, revision of personality and transvaluation of values involve regrets and imagination. They also mark the end of an epoch. Man should identify himself with the new forces or identify the new forces with himself. Once the individual adapts himself to the mood of the times then the future brings a message of hope and reassurance for him. The future belongs to integrated knowledge, integrated man and integrated world.

II

Opposing Trends

I

THE swing between the opposite poles world-view and particularism, faith and scepticism and decadence and renaissance is eternal. Progress springs from the reconciliation of these contradictions. Cosmic development as well as social evolution are rooted in this dialectic process.

Nature and thought are formed out of a series of levels and their dialectic syntheses. A new pattern of life can be built when energy is directed on the stabilised organisational levels. It is noteworthy that Auden calls time "the refreshing river." We indulge in no crystal-gazing when we say that the great mutations of history are yet to come.

Out of the welter of our epoch a new framework will rise. It would be legitimate to say that no institution can survive apart from the climate of the period. The new order would therefore be symptomatic of the prevailing consciousness.

II

World War II has shown the irrelevance of revolutionary antics. To save the doctrinal face leaders of

rival camps talk of a world revolution. The fact remains that the idealists have stepped out of their ivory towers. The world that will emerge from this dissolution will see the rival ruling classes contending for the loyalties of the weak and the dispossessed.

Secondly, the plutocrats have realised that the fabric of the burgeois society cannot stand the strains of the total war. The system of controls is not a freakiness of the war period. It will be carried on to peace time conditions also. Even the apologists of individualism see nothing out of the way in this new social technique. Although occasionally they praise the conservative political tendencies still they know that only by integrating the social forces the essential conditions for post-war leadership can be monopolised.

Thirdly, the Communist parties in occupied countries are turned into Russian garrisons. With a totalitarian hand Russia is making Eastern Europe conscious of her socialist realism. Her policy is devoid of the least spark of moral scruple. In one catastrophic moment she seeks to overturn the traditional values in regions which have now come under her sway. There things and souls are ripe for socialisation. Stalin's Russia's attitude has a subservice quality.

Fourthly, the pluto-democracies have displayed a sense of mutation. They have proved that their state mechanisms are not necessarily static and immobile. In a historical situation unforeseen by Marx the pluto-democracies aspire to defend their doctrine and interest by taking the socialist road.

The present social ethos is mirrored in the egalitarian creed which seeks to distribute widely the goods

of life. The historical and social forces indicate that the dispossessed will avenge themselves ruthlessly. The self-determining individual will be sacrificed to the communal aspect of the truth.

The unique personal suffering has given the mass the ability to comprehend true, eternal values. This powerful modifying force is seen in the dressing up of social legislation in left-wing phrases.

Fifthly, a new type of scientific planner is emerging who postulates the conditions of peace in inward seeking. For, the most ingenious political contrivance lacking ethical foundations can only comprehend the appearance and not the essence of human excellence. There is a growing realisation of the truth that if the political forces fall away from the religious values then they work in a vacuum.

Sixthly, the principle governing political relations is a desire for survival. Power-politics is a game of ruse, bluff and low cunning. Power-politics triumphant is the triumph of bureaucracy over personality. Its strength is based on a non-human centrality, a reversal of values. It is the gladiatorial theory of existence and its inward necessity that forced the Pluto-democracies to discard the liberal tendencies like self-determination, *laissez-faire* economics and atomistic individualism. There the fissure between the moral freedom of the individual and the authority of the community has widened.

Seventhly, peace will come within the sweep of history when the struggle for life becomes the struggle for the life of others. It is in the sublimities of human altruism that man can attain higher levels of

social solidarity. But we see everywhere hate and hunger. It was Henry Drummond who declared that there is no such thing in nature as a man. There is only social man. He also contended that good has arisen out of the evolutionary process.

III

The anti-social forces persist with appalling vigour in the sub-human levels. In the heart of humanity nature has made full provision for the blossoming of the Tree of Life. According to Drummond, the new world order has the whole force of evolution behind it. He says :

> "Why should evolution stop with the organic? These Kingdoms rising tier above tier in ever-increasing sublimity and beauty, their foundations visibly fixed in the past, their progress and the direction of their progress, being facts in nature still are the signs which, since the Magic first saw his stars in the east, have never been wanting from the firmament of truth, and which in every age with growing clearness to the wise, and with ever-gathering mystery to the uninitiated, proclaim that the kingdom of God is at hand."

It is futile to plan for progress within the framework of capitalist institutions. The belief that democracy and socialism are indissolubly wedded is a burgeois fake. True democracy is brought to life when exploitation of man is ended. But this result may be achieved by undemocratic procedure. When the socialist experiment is fully successful it is likely to absorb some democratic elements.

The Marxian scribes ought to know that notions like the conquest of power by force or fraud and a

minority imposing its will on the mass stare from their sacred texts. The idea of shelving democracy in the years of turmoil following the revolution fabricates an heroic myth. In truth, the badge of socialism can be claimed only by human sheep. The relation between the vagaries of arithmetic and unthinking submission, a scheme of eternal values and a retreat from the values of personality are more complex than what we are asked to believe.

Still another problem emerges. Gandhism is an antidote to the cult of violence. By accepting this solution we should envisage a political arrangement which contains individuals of humanistic outlook. To link Gandhism with its strong religious sense and faith in personal integrity with the anti-religious and anti-personal trends of socialism is to praise Gandhism over its grave. It is to enter into a booby-trap.

By virtue of its emphasis on the moral autonomy of the individual Gandhism has become the centre of a cult, an influence. It also expresses a profound vision of society. Millions can share its dilemmas and fears, its basic assumptions and realised truths.

The planners of the social process who seek to convert every Gandhian to socialism will only maim and degrade him. The home-made wares turned out by the Gandhian method cannot be anointed with oils taken from the Maxian jars.

IV

The contemporary forces fall into two main categories, the Marxist mode of thinking and the humanist outlook. The Marxist aspires to change the economic

lay-out. The humanist pleads for widespread moral and sociological changes. Specially, Heard stresses the need for training "neo-Brahmins" of men of vision and self-control. The humanist sees the root of the present evil in the decline of religious insight. He rejects the validity of Marxism and pins his faith on social biology.

Some recent Marxist theorists see a dominant economic group working its way deep into the life of the people. Burnham contends that the technocrats in Russia, who constitute eleven per cent of the population receive fifty per cent of the national income. According to the Marxian creed no social class will voluntarily give up its powers. Power is rapidly passing from the hands of the capitalists to bureaucracy. This new and rising class will invent myths to consolidate its gains.

The humanist forges a link between history and action. He lays equal emphasis on dialetic and moral life. In the humanist scheme science and religion are put in their rightful place. Science is morally neutral. It become useful or malign in relation to the ends of our activity. The humanistic idea is identified with esthetic emotion. It rests with us to resolve science into humanism. It is in our hands to raise the perfect mass-producer to the eternal founts of the spirit. Then we should prepare ourselves to definite forms of esthetic emotion. They can liberate man from the pang of passion and give him power to live his dream. Man's desperate wish and search for murder-machines becomes the beautiful and pure quest for unattainable peace.

III

The Esthetic Path.

I

A PEACE plan which is not the essence and utterance of the human spirit will bring lightning quick World War III. Peace then, as universal and single, is a spiritual concept. It lies above and beyond the ken of the exponents of power-politics. Its ideal blossoms from the particular to the universal end of man and is dominated by it.

A peace system should absorb and include all races and all states. Its substance is emptied when it is not the fully uttered and drawn out quintessence of humanity. It should be free from morbid emotions. Fear will only lame and not aid it. Peace for Peace sake is not a rhetorical flourish. It is a fundamental point. The charter of peace will have more chances of acceptance if it is grounded on esthetic emotion.

The democratic statesmen have unfortunately erased the line between what is just and what interests their clique. They forget that the ideal element of peace cannot be found in lower sensations like vindictiveness, race prejudice, power obsession and imperial greed.

II

One should view with some complacence the San Francisco Conference. It is now in the full blaze of limelight. If the delegates act according to the light that is within them, they can add the blessings of peace to the laurels of victory. Admittedly, Mr. Churchill is a dynamic force. But his prejudices will have a blighting effect on the British delegation and then on the Conference itself. He will nail peace to the cross of empire. The death of Mr. Franklin Roosevelt has come as a painful shock to the friends of peace. He would have made few concessions to British imperialism and to the urgent trend of Russian ambitions—oilfields. He would have stinted no effort in finding for the states a new peaceful orbit to revolve.

What will happen if the San Francisco Conference fails, as it hopes to do in due season. It is easy to frame a decided answer. San Francisco or no San Francisco there is no serious chance of America again interesting herself in the European quarrel. Tory Britain will not throw down her imperial shield. The haggling spirit will never be abandoned by the French. Russia will not put a damper on the proletarian movements. Germany will work up plans for another liberation.

The delegates of the various powers can mimic and never create peace. They assemble there with a definite trained hatred in their bosoms. They can never sustain and resolve the issues of human life.

The Dumbarton Oaks Draft discriminates between the victor nations and the defeated powers. It envi-

sages a world hegemony of the Allied war-time coalition. The principal Allied states like America, U.S.S.R., Great Britain, France and China dream of inaugurating the new era of pacification. Other nations are asked to remain remote and undistracted by their power plans.

Now the spokesmen of the Allied Nations have learned to speak a language. It has a familiar quality and tone. They scarcely know that their manoeuvre is self-destructive and their muffled voice is insincere.

The sponsors of the Conference hope to heal the wounds of civilization with the application of some patent doctrinaire remedy. The delegates will be asked to swallow the notions hot and whole from the imperialist and plutocratic ovens. Like the man with the muck rake they can only bring together "the straws, the small sticks, and the dust of the floor." They can never get the obsession of redrawing the frontiers, unilateral disarmament and reparation business out of their minds. No constitution devised by the wit of the supermen of San Francisco can work if it does not include the ex-enemy states. It will not create a new order in freedom but will prove the source of new woes. The forty-six signatories will reel back one after another into barbarism.

Those who have a deep acquaintance with the English spirit know that John Bull likes to remain as he was. He never commits himself to some revolutionary departure. He will not tolerate any foreign influence interfering with the British way of life. Even against a world in arms his imperial pledge and pur-

pose stands. Anything British is opposed to revolutionary conversion.

The utopists of San Francisco hope to raise the conception of liberty to a loftier plane. The era of pacification will have two definite phases: the phase of revenge and the phase of equilibrium. History shows that peace is not a gift but a transformation.

These utopists cannot seek and ensue peace. For, they desire to cultivate it in a moated garden.

The bases of peace are four: first, it is born of the intuition of the mind. Second, it is rooted in the thought of identity. Third, it is the development of natural urges into institutional forms. Lastly, it is the fruit of co-operation in practice. The striving for peace is therefore to give an institutional expression to something from within.

Planning for peace has a conceptual side and a practical aspect. The planner can adopt expedients. The philosopher can point the way to the most real of things. There is no plan for peace bereft of the philosophy of peace.

San Francisco must fail. Its composition has already forfeited its essence. There the Big Three would busy themselves in false route-making in politics. The smaller satellites will be asked to gang up against progress. From the Pandora's box of San Francisco will spring a new tyranny.

III

However, peace will come more surprising than the first bud of spring. It comes when the Hitler Youth yearn to escape from the poisonous airs of the

sealed chamber. In all innocence and joy they want the Fuehrer. This 'glorified single individual' enshrines the national ego. The possibility of a transfigured Fuehrer governing a reconditioned Germany is far superior to a nailed Fuehrer haunting the minds of the embittered Germans.

In this supreme crisis the Germans have felt the powers of life. The Allied occupation and parcelling out of the Fatherland will make the German cry for the leader more piercing. The Inter-Allied Commission can only achieve a negative unity.

IV

The Danish poet KierKegaard observes "Man's only salvation lies in the reality of religion for each individual." It is in the eternal view of life that man should seek his highest destiny. Then only he learns to dominate himself. It also develops in him faith in an equalitarian order.

We live in a time of ferment. It is difficult to foretell new winds to come. The philosophy of change lies in the background. Never the individual was so completely at the mercy of a changing world. In a sense, the contemporary man is rootless. He lives in a social and political vacuum.

The need is urgent to re-educate ourselves and our leaders too. We cannot optimistically look forward to the changes the Big Three seek to initiate. One talks nostalgically of empire. The other is naively provincial. The third has a powerful but despiritualised mind. Their leading symbols are different. Their attitude towards the framework of a new society

is conflicting. They all lack vision, the historical sense.

Goethe sang "Long live the creator of life." Life is promoted by esthetic activity. For, it seeks a continual understanding of the unity of life. Estheticism can combat evil in all its guises and gradiations and sustain and correct the strivings of men.

The life of an epoch is its human values and not its political cunning. To the eye of history the decisions of the Big Three and the members of their chorus would appear as anti-historical.

They have failed to anticipate the thought and action which characterises the new order. Their "pharmaceutical politics" is worse than reprehensible, laughable.

The weak and fugitive hints of diplomats cannot make history. History comes to new life and full truth in the movements of moral conscience. This moral strength lives consciously and invincibly only in a few spirits. Their moral political precept is the new course of history. Those who are clumsily elevated to the rank of diplomats can vote to their preferances. They can never comprehend the moral, juridical, economic and intellectual life even in its rawest rawest form.

A truly political revolution is bound up with a moral revolution. This new orientation and attitude towards the problem of moral life depends on a new value-pattern erupting itself as spirit and concept.

IV

A New Value-Pattern

I

SAYS Mephistopheles "The must may foam absurdly in the barrel, but at the last it turns into wine." We can be thoroughly sure of a brave new world if the coming man chooses ideas for weapons. All the flower of mankind has embraced death with ardour. It should show, in a more rational fashion, its interest in a new set of purposes.

Sentimental anachronisms like empire, individualism and white man's burden have their bards. With humorous perversity they pant and swear that empire is incapable of ageing. They are least aware that the concept empire is in process of being forgotten. Swift oblivion is engulfing this empty shell.

In this age of specialism we see many drugs on the political market. We are asked to set our affections on machanised fantasies. The visionless specialist is busy erecting an Aladdin's cave, in which everything has standardised smartness.

The first step towards a sane ideal of life is to draw a fresh canvas of human values. A new value-

pattern must be imposed on the present chaos in human purpose.

The planner should catch and transfuse the myriad values into a new scale. He should anchor public activity to it. He ought to know that a new stability can arise only when a common background of values is created. He should bring into his focus the demands of the society and the yearnings of the individual. He should accept without question the absolute truths. To choose a new value system for a symbol is to create a happy world to stay in and to strive for.

The polar extremes of planning are personality and society. The spirit of an age survives in the prophets who enshrine in themselves the principle of society. Social pressure might modify some aspects of personal creativeness. But society will be a wasteland when it dictates to personality.

The flowering of culture is favoured by the primacy of human values. All through the ages the social framework has related itself to personal creativeness. With the passage of culture into civilization the individual is integrated in the collective.

The social historians emphasise the truth that the trend in modern writing is more social and less individualistic. In the past social revolutions were brought about by men of letters. They comprehend life as a unity and this leads to the blending of the personal with the social. The community of values is one of the consequences of the socialisation of personality.

We should make a clean sweep of the old order of things. The new order will become a swiftly refuted dream if inevitable changes are not accelerated.

II

The present war has come as a crucial experience of the disintegration of western civilization. This disorder is not a surface trend but a state in the western man's soul. In the words of Lewis Mumford "we live in a world given over to devitalised mechanisms, desocialised organisms and depersonalised societies."

The material shell is no doubt confused and empty. It is possible to give it stability and uniformity. As Julian Huxley observes, the only cure for science is more science. But the power given by science should be wielded by men who are moved by humanistic ideals.

That the machine has a clear social and economic significance is evident. It will be effective as an instrument of change if it is not controlled by war-lords and economic oligarchs.

The resources of science are abused by individualistic capitalism. Once stability in production is attained the economist-rulers try to put a stop to scientific progress. For, any change in the psychological habits or in the existing technique will render their equipment obsolete.

Planned socialism is no doubt a valid solution to the chaos and misery produced by restrictive capitalism. But socialist planning implies the scrapping of the old social structure. If planning is not grounded on a rational ideology it ends in the tyranny of the dominant party.

The economic order we visualise should be progressive and not static. This depends on the creation of a world community which accepts a compromise solution between private initiative and state control.

In such a dynamic economic structure full employment and collective saving are assured. Inequality in income will be narrowed down to the difference in performance. It must be admitted that the age of automatism of free markets and choice of occupations is dead.

In the creation of a new value-pattern systematic mass-suggestion is needed. It is easy to form conditioned reflexes in the children. The rulers should impose on them a correct pattern of social behaviour. A net of baby farms can smoothen out racial and individual caprices and foster common aspirations and attitudes.

We should also free ourselves from the claims of the dead past. Utterances like it is better to go wrong in freedom than go right in chains are stereotyped.

Life is a flowing stream of experience. The essentialised experience should be shared by all. This can be done by organising the mind.

III

To sum up: the contemporary confusion is the symptom of the exhaustion and senility of the western civilization. In this age of speed quickly verifiable truths are preferred to concepts of historical value. The false idea of necessity has shattered public truths into private truths. The arts of life have decayed lacking a community of beliefs.

The western man has almost subdued Nature. His dream of mechanical power is realised. The scientist is laundering the dirty linen of war-lords and economist-rulers. Ultimate reality has escaped his gaze. "Scientific method" says Jung "must serve: it errs

when it usurps a throne." To-day the scientist does not live the truth. Being at cross-purposes with life he has sought gain or glorification by slaving for a harsh militarism.

If the scientist is spiritually blind, the moralist is disastrously out-of-date. He has surrendered the self not to God but to the ruling class. He talks of building the new order in religious truth. Neither has he attained to the truth nor has he prepared the mass for that creative moment. Writes Alexei Tolstoy:

> "Life is a mighty force. Even in times of the greatest historical cataclysms and the most severe trials, human beings issue forth head first from their mothers' wombs and, with angry cries, demand a place for themselves in this world whether parents like it or not; human beings fall in love quite unmindful of the fact that their worldly resources for this purpose are greatly inferior to those of a black-cock when he dances and spreads his gaudy tail in the spring. People always want to be consoled and are willing to give half their loaf to the man who can pour unexpected balm into their souls torn by the question: "What is to become of us if things go on like this—we are to eat grass and cover our nakedness with cabbage leaves."

It is the stock sentiments of the moralist that have led to ethical failing. It is his low practices that have created a predatory civilization. He tells the crucified individual that it is his little straw that is supporting the house of mankind. And it is the same mankind that gives him the phial of poison.

It is possible to be a moral being and yet remain unfettered by a religious dogma. A life of self-denial

is not always a moral life. It consists in being responsive to one's environment. The moralist turns his affections more seldom and with less love towards the mass. Says Shaw "Christendom is supplanted by scoundralism." The tones and rhythms of life are upset by this collective scoundralism.

In the words of Hugh A Fausset, "We live in a day when the unique is everywhere being submerged in the uniform." It is the function of the moralist to create in the mass the desire to raise itself to a higher plane. He should minister to the deepest needs of the soul. He should also help to create true life values.

IV

The new value-pattern should have a relation to the pulse of life. It should be remembered that an over-done idealism lands one in moral incongruity. Therefore the approach to the understanding of man should be pragmatic. As the political, economic, sociological and moral values telescope together, we cannot pare away any value from its common background.

The meaning of a group life can be realised when man considers foreigners as human. This transformation from a level of relative barbarity to one of relative humanity can be forced by an integrated vision of man and society. This vision is the truimph of love over self. It enables the individual to refrain from the use of force, to recover a spiritual unity, to harvest the fruits of labour and science and to liberate the essential self. We shall remain dehumanised until this mental victory is won.

V

Life-Attitudes.

I

IT is in a most rare hour that a new faith becomes a part of our blood and being and emerges fused in the creative spirit. The new order will fall to pieces unless related to a profound political-ethical belief. The ranging searchlight of this belief penetrates as deep and far as human intelligence will direct it.

If our imagination cannot reconstruct the conditions of a new life then we surrender ourselves to the negative forces. Sentiment guaranteed by experience gives vigour and purpose to our ideals. Intellectual vision guiding pragmatic advance enables man to renew himself in an age of stress.

Dressing up the moth-eaten ideals in a shining garb will not invest them with new power. Only a modification in aspect and attitude can bring about modification in epochs. To-day the utility of our progress is in doubt because it is not rooted in the realm of essence.

The narrow drift of speculation profanes and destroys the new scale of values. A naive acceptance of

prejudice cannot impose order on the chaos of life. Therefore, to conceive politics as the illustration of humanity is to conceive it rightly.

The idea gains effective force if it is grounded on active phantasy. It constitutes the distinguishing quality of a true planner. For he creates phantasies of universal appeal.

The vital capacity of a new faith depends on its moral beauty, universal form and living reality. The new order is born of the riot within; of matter animated by spirit. Its peaceful nature will be the warm emanation of the human soul.

Politics is our destiny. Any political faith which is not ethical, universal and pragmatic perishes as witchcraft. In the highest form of political arrangement we should refuse to see anything but the working of this new faith.

The myriad phases of the moon, the decay of cherished beliefs and the flaring up of social revolutions are not isolated events but a link in the eternal process. There is an invisible coherence in the world of mind as in the domain of nature. When the soul is landed in a bog of dread and disillusion a deeper intuition restores it on a firm ground of absolute concepts. Then from despair springs faith, from irresolution rises conviction and from stagnation proceeds change.

II

The moral of the present crisis of civilization tends in this direction. With all his deformities man will turn to a new thought, a new living and a new order.

Now resurrected barbarism reflects the darker aspects of life. We can already discern signs of the individual's mutiny against the darkness of fate.

Man does not always delight in blood-baths. He has a certain tendency to be pugnacious, enragedly brutal. But he can purge himself of this dross of a diseased nature. Out of the depth of his violence and the massive disillusion that follows it, he can build up a new principle of life.

When the hostilities cease, it will give the minor prophets opportunities of testing their idealism and canalising their introspective energies. Either the coming man will writhe helpless, indignant, outraged in the new chains forged by the scientific planners or he will enter the threshold of a new age of grace, of faith and of charity.

The human values lie at the centre of a civilization. The coming man needs re-education in this truth. Unless the individual subordinates himself to the absolute values man's inhumanity to man cannot be eradicated.

To say that the genius of the new epoch will express itself in the love of God might be a wild exaggeration. For the progressive movements to-day are anti-religious. But religion is rooted in human consciousness. It is not mere wish-fulfilment of childish experience.

The survival of religion is determined by two factors: first, the mental frame and secondly, the conditions of life. The new social techniques might transform religion but they cannot annihilate it.

No remedy can touch at the root of the present difficulty unless it develops the impulse to creativeness. To create a world-community under the drive of Anti-God impulse is to add to world frustration. We have reached a point in history where the mass need a new set of positive ideals which create and maintain reverence for life. When the reverenc for personality becomes a living religion then it releases a creative force for the transformation of society.

Will the new hope arise from the agonising experiments carried on by a man of meditation in a mud-hunt? Will this power to regenerate the human spirit come from the right to dream? Will this capacity reveal itself through the universal ideals and emotions involved in this grim conflict?

It is hard to find the determining forces in history. No doubt our minds are shaken by the wind of doctrines. The radio has taken charge of the cogitating minds. War-mongers have taken charge of the material resources. The dignity of man is carried away from the realm of values altogether. Man has degenerated into a mechanism. How can the insufficiency of his mind comprehend one world-picture born of a fusion of experimental and intuitive knowledge?

If we push our scrutiny a little further we realise that nothing is lacking in the modern except faith. His cynicism has led to a denial of all esthetic values. Lacking universality all his knowledge is draped on a system which crucifies man.

The new faith need not be sought in the haunts of theological erudition. Inspite of deliberate human composition it should be a guide to life. There is be-

fore us a mass of suggested feeling and imitated conduct. This experience exists not as a dull yearning but as an acute frenzy.

The soul's vital secrets are not lost if we fail to develop over-instigated nerves. Says Spinoza "I will analyse the actions and appetites of men as if it were a question of lines, of planes and of solids." This notion should not lead to a reinterpretation of religion as abberations of perverted sexuality and torpid liver. William James rightly points out "Medical materialism finishes up Saint Paul by calling his vision on the road to Damascus a discharging lesion of the occipital cortex he being an epileptic. It snuffs out Saint Teresa as an hysteric. Saint Francis of Assisi as an hereditary degenerate. George Fox's discontents with the shams of his age, and his pining for spiritual veracity, it treats as a symptom of a discorded colon. Carlyle's organ-tones of misery it accounts for a gastro-duodenal catarrh. All such mental over-tensions, it says, are, when you come to the bottom of the matter, mere affairs of the diathesis (auto-intoxications most probably) due to the perverted actions of the various glands which physiology will yet discover."

Our rapture and dryness are organically founded. To say that our spiritual values are not the revelation of the truth but flow from the possessors body at the time is a sweeping sceptical conclusion. An inwardly superior mind owes its excellence to spiritual judgment. To associate it with nerve and liver and chemical metabolism is deceptive and false. The value of a religious opinion can be ascertained by spiritual judgments. According to William James, they are

immediate luminousness and moral helpfulness. In other words, they should be grounded on immediate feeling and should have a pragmatic relation to our moral needs.

Dr. Maudsley's final test of a belief is not its origin in intuition, vision or pontifical authority but the way in which it works. It is an empirical test. "By their fruits ye shall know them, not by their roots."

It must be, however, admitted that sometimes a vision or voice may be the deception of the temper. For its right perception we should see it out of its environment, and in it. This "borderland insanity" in a creative mind has enabled it to modify an epoch. The mystic is liable to this inner illumination. When he gets a new idea he feels restless till he proclaims it. It is this earnest servant of man that faces a perilous duty. Centuries of moral evolution are forced by such types in whom effective genius coalesces with neurotic temperament. Such a blend furnishes the requisite receptivity for inspiration from a higher realm.

III

The new faith should stand for a definite essence. It should draw from the common store-house of emotion. It should, as Sabatier says, keep man most in view. It should admit that the universe has a moral soul. It is not a mere floating general quality but a self-conscious life. Emerson gave utterance to this faith:

> "But speak the truth, and all things alive or brute are vouchers, and the very roots of the grass

underground there do seem to stir and move to bear your witness. For all things proceed out of the same spirit, which is differently named love, justice, temperance, in its different applications, just as the ocean receives different names on the several shores which it washes. In so far as he roves from these ends, a man bereaves himself of power, of auxiliaries. His being shrinks. He becomes, less and less, a mote, a point, until absolute badness is absolute death. The perception of this law awakens in the mind a sentiment which we call the religious sentiment, and which makes our highest happiness. Wonderful is its power to charm and to command. It is a mountain air. It is the embalmer of world. It makes the sky and the hills sublime, and the silent song of the stars is it. It is the beatitude of man. It makes him illimitable."

This faith should over-arch our living. It should reflect our total attitude to life. It should develop in us an active sense of the world's presence.

As opposed to this faith is the old gamecock spirit of Voltaire which looks upon the world as a farce. The chaffing outpourings of Renan that we should always talk of philosophy with a smile and "we should give ourselves up, according to the hour, to confidence, to scepticism, to optimism, to irony, and we may be sure that at certain moments at least we shall be with the truth" bear the stamp of his irony.

When over-dramatised the realism of W. B. Yeats has a certain romanticism. He believes that many minds can flow into one another and create or reveal a single mind or single energy. Further our memories are part of a great memory, the memory of Nature herself. He says that this great mind and great memory

can be evoked by symbols. He observes "Our most elaborate thoughts, elaborate purposes, precise emotions, are often, as I think, not really ours, but have in a sudden come up, as it were, out of hell or down out of heaven."

To him the symbol is a worker of wonder, a caller up of angels or of devils. It is far more than a mood of trance, a hush-hush atmosphere. It can buttress and shore up our life. What one most admires in Yeats' poetry is not its atmosphere but its humanity. It is a perpetual search for a new symbol, an aristocratic faith. But his thought is not so profound as his awareness. It illustrates and not develops a personal vision of life, beautiful and courteous.

The opinion that we should admire T. S. Elliot's verse and lament his prose is untrue. Both reveal the same search for a new principle. The idea of Hulme that man is essentially bad, he can accomplish anything of value by discipline forms the background of Elliot's thought-life. He tries to apply his violent prejudices rather his ideology, to contemporary society. The criticism of his position is therefore relevant to our present discussion.

Elliot reacts from an utilitarian age. He defends tradition and often over-proves his case. Tradition involves the historical sense. He endeavours to trace tradition in morals. He holds that esthetic judgment and moral judgment are inseparable. His traditionalism has its roots in the past and is related to the contemporary life. He does not preach the creation of a wider humanity as an act of the will. But he looks to the Church and it offers the only surviving hope to

the white world in peril. He says "The world is trying the experiment of attempting to form a civilised but a non-Christian mentality. The experiment will fail; but we must be very patient in awaiting its collapse, meanwhile redeeming the time: so that the Faith may be preserved alive through the dark ages before us; to renew and rebuild civilization, and save the world from suicide."

He sees a new and better civilization in a vindictive Puritanism "Thought, study, mortification, sacrifice: it is such notions as these that should be impressed on the young." He deprecates the absence of any moral or social sense. Commenting on Elliot's vision of a Christian society Prof. Laski says "But the most important thing in Mr. Elliot is his horror of the common man, his shrinking from any contact with the masses, the fastidious sensitiveness which seemed to regard whatever is democratic as in its nature vulgar and ugly and barbarous." In other words, the music of this bard is for the elite. His conscious aloofness and his mannered disdain wither his humanism. He denies the meaning of life.

IV

There is an essential hallowness in the modern view of life. The frustrated romantic is nostalgic and bitter with reality. To the frustrated traditionalist beauty is gone from the creations of Nature as much as in the marvels of science. The one drugs himself with mysticism and the other goes crazy.

Writes Aldous Huxley "God as a sense of warmth about the heart, God as exultation, God as tears in the

eyes, God as a rush of power of thought—that was alright." He argues that religion as emotion cannot be squared with religion as truth. Therefore he consigns both to the scrap-heap.

Antique superstition cannot be the source of a new value. An ulcer even when benign should be feared. Religion, work and art have failed to provide the looked-for solution. The search leads from illusion to disillusion and ends in suicide. The Shelleyan tradition of free-thinking, humanity and unselfishness does not satisfy Huxley. He turns to the past. He is not a sentimentalist inside out but a thwarted romantic. He puts his home-spun philosophy in the mouth of one of his characters:

> "The incessantly changing social conventions and moral codes of history represent the shifting axe of reference chosen by the least curious, most myopic and worst-placed observers. Out of the axes chosen by the best observers have always been startingly like one another. Gotama, Jesus and Lao-tze, for example, they lived sufficiently far from one another in faith, time and social position. The nearer a man approaches them in penetration, the more nearly the axes of his moral reference correspond with theirs."

The shining peak of the past lures Huxley. He isolates himself from the environment and seeks some mystical absolutes alone. He develops the mystical-pacifist view.

Dostoevsky has made an approach to man's basic dilemma. He has made no truce with theories which satisfy men by lowering their consciousness. He contends that human personality is something autono-

mous and it becomes starved through isolation. This brooding sceptic is conscious of man's irrational urges finding gratification in symbols. To him life is a riddle and demands a meaning.

His life is tormented by God. His attitude to God is that it is a mighty activity in the soul. He expressly says "If God exists, all is His Will and from His Will I cannot escape! If not, it is all my will, I am bound to show self-will." This epitomizes his quest of values. If God as a supreme value does not exist then the world is a casual complex of blind forces. The idea of freedom exists parallel with God and independent of Him.

According to Prof. Leuba, man can have two attitudes towards the problem of God. One, a business-like transactions with God and the other, an absorption in the divine substance. These two constitute the external and internal attitudes. They represent the two polar tendencies active in every self. Dostoevsky observes "There is nothing lovelier, deeper, more sympathetic, more manly and perfect than the Saviour." Christ has given meaning to life: "The whole planet, with everything in it is mere madness without that man." A mystic should, therefore, magnify his self to the size of the All or dissolve it in the All.

Dostoevsky conjures up the vision of "a God-Bearing Universe." To him the way of life revealed by Christ is incontestable. But is this value outside the truth or in it? This question torments his spirit. He is torn by a conflict between unbelief and the will-to-believe. This latent nihilist prefers to "to stay with

Christ and not with the truth." His mind passes through the whirlwind of doubt.

V

The clash between the traditional and revolutionary forces has stirred human consciousness. The promise is growing of conversion of man to a new faith which works from the inside outwards with a soul-searching inwardness. Sir S. Radhakrishnan is propounding this reunion of passion with thought. Led under this oriental influence humanism is sure to gain in concreteness and intensity.

The idea of this illustrious philosopher, with all the ethical concepts and all the warnings and feelings they imply are not stark and bare but form the beacon of the new generation. Free from academic stiffness and the cult of antiquity he puts forward an idea that is human and heroic. He has not allowed the present distempers to quench for a moment his living sensibility. The splendour of his humanist culture is truly amazing. By his humility as moralist and man and by his cool clarity and exquisite grace in thought and in style he stands out as the leader of the humanist movement.

The new civilization to which he aspires is one in which man makes his inner self the lamp and acquires the eye of truth. Says Radhakrishnan:

> "Man is meant for happiness but he is everywhere unhappy, his heart emptied of joy and laughter. The human being is meant to live, love and laugh but we find him everywhere marching sullenly with alcohol in his body, a gun in his hand and anger in his heart. The wonderful achievements of science meant to foster human

happiness and creative freedom are used for destructive purposes."

He holds that the world is not governed by blind inconsequence. The abuse of power brings retribution on the historical plane. On the rock of moral law the tyrants will hurl themselves eventually to their own destruction. He concludes "The salvation of this world can be achieved only by soldiers of spirit who willingly accept pain and sacrifice even unto death in the faith that it will redeem and raise up both victims and violators."

When large ranges of truth open man should also widen his horizon to their reception. To attain to truth is to attain to the irreversible. A new spiritual outlook of reassurance and not of reproof is the instrument for gaining truth. It should essentially be a human working principle. It should also minister to a vital need. Says Radhakrishnan :

> "What we need to-day is a profound spiritual awakening, a resurrection of creative faith. Even as an individual gets aware of a kingdom of spirit, when he is practically at the end of his earthly resources, the world which is moved by its helplessness under conditions of suffering and the slow crucifixion of millions of human beings may well be at the edge of a new epoch. The darker the world the nearer is the dawn."

Radhakrishnan calls us, with the voice of a trumpet, to believe that man is capable of the orderly life of liberty. He dreams of a spiritual resurrection. He argues that without a spiritual ambition millenniums will prove a dead end. His attitude is one of revolt and not of acceptance. He develops a new inter-

pretation of peace as a sequence of the spiritual restoration of man.

VI

The needs of the modern are many. His mind should move towards a synthesis of experience. The politician should speak the language of a theologian and the social scientist the language of both. We cannot create matter but we can certainly create new entities. Social stability is possible if individuals are trained in social values. An optimistic outlook is supported by the fact that we can create something out of nothing. Unless we shape the new society with the force of the spirit the new order will become a frozen era, another ice age.

A creed which is an escape from the tragic burdens of life is sterile. Its uniqueness should be its universality, a vision shared, not a secret withheld. Spiritual elevation should be its function. It should teach man to escape from his isolation and recondition him into a part which would transform the whole. It should be something more than an intellectual formula. In the words of C. G. Jung :

> "Only on the basis of an attitude which renounces none of the values won in the course of Christian development, but which, on the contrary, tries with Christian charity and forbearance to accept the humblest things in oneself, with a higher level of consciousness and culture be possible."

Men bereft of a spiritual faith live in a vault. They cannot be awake to the appeal and purpose of history. A system of thought that crushes out belief in God has only a clinical significance. Man can re-

create in himself the conditions of a new life when he understands the truths of spirit.

A life is moral when it is drawn by objective ends that call for energy. It calls men to freedom, to cosmic patriotism. A moral man is not a pining slave and he has positively expunged fear from his mind. The new faith must be a new reach of freedom, tolerance and understanding for all. It should be absolute and therefore everlasting. Then alone it can change our moral death into a spiritual birthday.

The new faith should establish respect for reason. It should take the help of unofficial forces of education for this purpose. It should effectively use all the instruments of protest and rebellion and rouse the enthusiasm of alert youth.

The human species must aim at something more than its survival. It should accept the value-pattern as an approximation to truth. The loss of moral tension is brought about when men are absolved from the needs of responsibility and humility. We therefore need a faith which is a fusion of tradition and experiment and which recognises the religious truth and interprets it in terms of life. In the absence of such a faith millions will turn to sham ideologies and debased creeds as a consolation and a sedative.

VI

The Dynamic of a New Faith.

I

BEETHOVEN'S brother once left him a written message signed "Johann van Beethoven, landed proprietor." He signed his reply "L. van Beethoven, proprietor of a brain." Man would not have been in danger of becoming extinct if he had asked to be governed by reason and truth. As Jofferey Bourne says, "In reality the problem is one of Heart plus Head *versus* Heart minus Head." The chief function of reason is to interpret emotion and to guide the response to it. The impulse of emotion tends to a love of truth. While the impulse of reason is the use of truth.

Propaganda is a threat of death to reason and therefore a threat of death to human essence. As members of body politic we have ceased to form opinions and make judgments. The facts we get are insufficient and distorted to form an opinion. Further in politics, there is a fatal tendency to apply emotional cures without understanding rational causes. Definitive peace is the result of constructive thinking. It cannot be attained either by a brain-wave or by the overthrow of a regime.

The world will be united either by reason or by fraud. Reason has no fixed tenets, no rigid frontiers. It exposes itself to the burning fire of scientific scrutiny. It is never out-moded as an ever-glowing spark lies hidden in it. To the recent mass philosophies reason is a handicap and submission an asset. The decay of reason as a political force has paved the way for the tyranny of nitwits and nobrows.

Ignorance and selfishness of men lie at the root of social injustice and national gangsterism. The hope of a just social order rests on increasing human awareness and benevolence. A creative unfolding of the potentialities of the human spirit depends upon the degree of reason which directs the energy. Reason alone gives man a capacity for self-transcendence.

II

Moral qualities spring from instinct and nature. Man cannot derive these qualities purely from rational sources. Reason canalises the flow of this energy in harmony with the created life. The function of reason is therefore to stabilise forces which affirm life. A vivid apprehension of the doctrine of reverence for life is governed by our ability to harmonise the conflicting impulses in our own life and in Society.

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr rightly observes that moral chaos is produced when life is related to life mechanically and not organically. Harmonious social relations depend on the sense of pity as much as on the sense of justice. Kant enunciated the axiom "Act in conformity with that maxim and that maxim only which you will at the same time to be universal law."

This means, an individual should gratify his impulses in terms of the total necessities in a given social setting.

Prof. Santayana expressly says "All mind is naturally synthetic. In the mindful person the passions have spontaneously acquired a responsibility toward each other, or if they still allow themselves to make merry separately for liveliness in the parts is a good without which the whole would be life-less—yet the whole possesses or aspires to possess, a unity of direction in which all parts may conspire, even if unwittingly." But in a mass society conflicting attitudes are produced both in the individual and the community life. This mass irrationality produces unsublimated psychic energies.

In an integrated society the symptoms of chaotic mass reactions are fewer. The eruptive forces can be directed through mechanisms of social control towards new wish-objects. The dynamic of a new faith can destroy the old emotional setting and curb and control the disintegrated impulses with the aid of symbols. Through sublimation the irrational elements can create new value-patterns.

In a mass society political irrationality takes the shape of violence. In the epic of a man it has always mobilised the impulses of the masses to destructive ends. It is to be clearly understood that the social mechanism determines the form and intensity of all rational and irrational forces.

To guarantee the smooth functioning of the social apparatus moral standards are set up. The idea of tolerance is an ethical formulation of the tendency to

exclude all sectarian beliefs from public discussions as they diminish total harmony. Where substantial irrationalities triumph there reason is in retreat.

To establish a synthesis between individual life and other life man's insight into the nature of social tendencies should be awakened. The rational man will renounce partial advantages in favour of the total body of human impulses. To-day the individual thinks in terms of a dominant group asserting its interests. Only a rational comprehension of social values makes for justice. The new faith should therefore provide a rational ideal of justice by which the total society and the constituent groups can judge their relations.

The social scientist is trying to analyse the web of motivation. He can create a higher type of social morality by developing in the individual the faculty of considered judgment and shared responsibility.

In an age reeking with social injustice and conscious hypocrisy the ideal of love is cynically judged. Social justice is a political-ethical ideal. It merely becomes a political one when it is not leavened with the ideal of love.

Without the ultra-rational hopes of mysticism no society can exploit the moral resources of men. Religious idealism can eliminate the anti-social elements in inter-group and inter-statal life. It can increase the power and enlarge the range of social attitudes. The hope of the law of love informing the moral life of a community is reborn is positive Gandhism.

VII

Positive Gandhism.

I

AGAINST the recurring creeds which lay emphasis on coercion and conflict as the instruments of social redemption Gandhism has maintained man's freedom and his spiritual destiny. The present unstable world is the tragic symbol of a realism which seeks to resolve conflict by conflict. The peace in the inter-war years was a coerced peace. Those decades witnessed not the extension of conscience but the spread of chicane. It is needless to say that definitive peace proceeds from a rational adjustment of right to right.

Gandhism is a philosophy in the sense its principles are universally valid. It redeems religion from its essentially private and individual character and extracts from the mystical experience some universal facts. It is luminous, stable and true and therefore appeals to a vital public.

The philosophy of Gandhi has given sinews to the human spirit. As its structure and content are fused in one vital unity it is organic. There is no severance between his philosophy and life. The world of sensible things is brilliant and external and abounds

in ugly inclinations and accidentality. Gandhi escapes entirely from his surroundings and remains alone with the Alone. He postulates an entire world of fears and lusts around him. He sees men indifferent to works of goodness and pursuing a dollar or guinea in sweat and blood. He feels that men cannot pass this vital crisis so long as fear stands sentinel and disbelief obtains, so long as they are votaries of base feelings and not higher affections. He returns with his new spiritual experience to give us more life, more significant life. He points out our inferior self and pet softness as the targets for to-morrow.

Gandhism is not a religion but a derivative of religion. In other words, it is a new conception of life. It lifts man to the level of his rational self and infects him with a new spiritual enthusiasm. It is an appeal to man's soul as well as to his conduct.

Gandhism is a new faith and also a new power. Its newness and vitality should enable it to supersede doctrines which have brought us cynical disillusionment. Further, a religion founded purely on reason creates sects and schools but it fails to emancipate man from caprice and waywardness. The Gandhian faith is a thing of the heart. It involves suppression and censorship of heart and mind.

This high sane force shines and shimmers in effective action. In an age of debility like our own it radiates the moral energy of the good life. It has vigour and resonance, a unifying vitality. Its beauty is the beauty of love. Its power is the heightened power of truth. And its goal is the sacred harmony

of life. It has tinctured our consciousness with tension and meaning.

The contemporary man is the prey to despair because his thought is not related to his experience and his personality is divorced from his vision. Gandhism is a fusion of thought and experience. This fresh and sweet blend has given it the power to dissolve the clouds that have wrapped about the human spirit.

The philosophy of Gandhi is closely related to his mental activity and his tools. Some are tempted to seek the roots of his faith in his "feminine spirit." Such critics forget that Gandhi's ideas are formed in solitude and his tools are fashioned in the stream of life. The fundamental aspects of Gandhism are revolutionary. We assert that the spirit of man is frost-nipped and bruised because it loathes ideals formed in solitude.

Lao-tze says that the greatest conquerors in history are those who overcome hate by love. Gandhism shifts men's centre of energy within them and creates new crises of emotion. It arrays all emotions in a rainbow glory. The light that prostrated Paul on the way to Damascus, the ineffable light that shone in the soul of Gautama the Buddha can surely shift character to higher levels. Gandhism reveals new reaches of ideality.

II

Let us call to mind the postulates of some leading thinkers on war. To Karl Schmid war is an instrument of historical evolution. Peter Kropotkin argues that war is an agency for promoting or retarding social

progress. Morris Ginsberg contends that war is a method of expansion. To Treitschke war is a quasi-legal institution. Kelsen remarks that war is a means of self-help peculiar to international law. The Marxists hold that war is the inevitable consequence of the present phase of capitalism. We feel bathed in a better moral air when we hear Gandhi proclaiming the truth that war will continue so long as man suffers alone in his flesh. The highest flights of bravery to which the wings of human spirit have spread have been flown for moral ideals. By perishing for a truth the soul arrives at a genuinely heroic state.

Gandhi's strategy of love is not a kindly fraud. It is not a theory of demolition of the dominant class but an attack upon the whole dominant mind. Behind his non-violent weapon lies a spiritual will. He explains:

> "I have found that life persists in the midst of destruction and, therefore, there must be a higher law than destruction. Only under that law would a well-ordered society be intelligible, and life worth-living. And if that is the law of life, we have to work it out in daily life. Wherever there are jars, wherever you are confronted with an opponent, conquer him with love. In this crude manner, I have worked it out in my life. That does not mean that all my difficulties are solved. Only I have found that this law of love has answered as the law of destruction has never done."

The point stands out that conversion can bring with it a changed attitude towards life. Our moral attitude is conditioned by the inter-play of impulses and inhibitions. When inhibitions are annulled the human mind can rise to unspeakable glory.

According to Gandhi renunciation is the sole strength and the sole foundation of man. He writes "Renounce all and dedicate it to God and then live. The right of living is thus derived from renunciation." To him self-surrender brings a tranquil mind. When he says that God and not financial securities should be our supreme trust it makes us admire and shudder at the same time. Man is mailed against every weakness when "service and not bread becomes with us the stuff of life. We eat and drink, sleep and wake for service alone. This brings us real happiness and beatific vision in the fullness."

Contempt for danger and cult of poverty, ardour of sacrifice and throwing oneself on God enable man to live in a new centre of energy. It is the dollar-hunt that makes for effiminacy. It is high-hearted indifference that develops trashiness of fibre. Life is raised to a higher plane of power and new ranges of energy are released when man appeals to the soul's heroic resources. The agony of the cross has yet a vital meaning.

III

We want a right faith for the hour and the right man should announce it. At all events we should not confuse the source of the faith with its spiritual meaning. The contemporary world has no spiritual monument equal to Gandhi. He can survive the judgment of history as he sticks to ultimate values and also has an awareness of the needs of the time.

Reverence for life, truth-force, world-view and conversion are the central fixations around which his



mind revolves. He exalts ideas to the very summit of human experience. He carries on a war against mechanical intellectualism and sterile egotism. He reacts strongly against a civilization which denies the life of the spirit. Says Tagore :

> "When Mahatma Gandhi came and opened up the path of freedom for India, he had no obvious medium of power in his mind, no overwhelming authority of coercion. The influence which emanated from his personality was ineffable, like music, like beauty. Its claims upon others was great because of its revelation of a spontaneous self-giving. This is the reason why our people have hardly ever laid emphasis upon his natural cleverness in manipulating recalcitrant facts. They have rather dwelt upon the truth which shines through his character in lucid simplicity."

The creative vision of Gandhi has redefined the values by which the civilized society has lived and found its meaning. Man wearily turned aside from God and humanity only to be caught in the encircling arm of the octopus militarism. The 'run-down civilisation' is stiffened into an ossified deadness. Gandhi's dynamic nature has reacted against this rootless and sterile life-attitude.

According to Prof. MacMurray the impact of Gandhi's personality upon other people is itself a creative energy. He says "The mere fact of their being in the world, as the human beings that they are, transforms the world so that it can never be quite the same again. Mr. Gandhi is a man of this kind. By the sublime simplicity of his moral courage he restored to the masses of his fellow countrymen their

self-respect and a belief in their own humanity. And in doing so he has changed the course of history, and decided the future of a great part of the human race."

We must frankly recognise the fact that we are sick souls and we need a faith of deliverance. Unless its dynamic currents pulsate us we will be led into a state where neither culture nor personality exists. In the vast tracts of time men of vision coerced spiritual powers on man's side. Leuba observes "Not God, but life, more life, a larger, richer, more satisfying life, is in the last analysis, the end of religion. The love of life, at any and every level of development is the religious impulse." Only spiritual strength can open a new life for man. There is more life in our total soul than we are aware of. Where the soul-force is felt there the dissolution is partial. This higher energy should filter into new institutions. The Gandhian faith can give this qualitative intensity to the new world order.

IV

Gandhism is a *Geistesgeschichte*, a history of the minds of men. It is not born of chance interpretation but of a rigorous intellectual discipline. Gandhi believes that man is a part of the stream of history and his nature is a changing product of a changing world. Our knowledge should therefore be an outgrowth of the stem of positive human studies. Gandhi works out the pragmatic truths into the skeleton structure of his philosophy.

Gandhi represents a transition-point in history. The impact of the world revolution has shaken the

old beliefs. The reflective minds see in Gandhi's humanist thought a common body of convictions.

A sociology conceived in his terms and a politics inspired by his teaching will have an important bearing on our historical development. His philosophy has proclaimed a new conception of man and the world. It is not only moulding the historical forces but making history conscious of its direction.

Millions will join in the cry for a return to the positive Gandhi, who has a close kinship with the World-View and a deep faith in the creative powers of man. He has retained the religious essence and freed it from jejune speculations.

The Vaudeville professors have demonstrated the power of the hypnosis. Gandhi has cast a lasting spell over the masses. He has blazed a trial in the direction of a new moral and political order. The Vaudeville professors should tread his path and follow it to the end. No future society can afford to neglect the challenge of Gandhi or to overlook the positive influence of his doctrines.

The theory of achieving unity around the organising centre of power-politics is dying a too lingering death. Its votaries forget that the immediate impulse cannot be equated with the dynamic character of life. The force of conscience, however faint and flickering, can increase the moral resources of individuals. The rediscovery of I in the Thou in the totality of life and of world history can change the social chaos into social peace.

VIII

The Changing World.

I

THE coming man must come to terms with the world and with himself. He should preserve, active and vital, the first principles of life.

According to Hugh I'Anson Fausset, man should journey from pure egotism to pure self-hood. When the thought of private advantage ceases to interest him he can participate wholly in the universe. Only by this readaptation he can grasp what is permanent or eternal in life. He may not become a man of individuality but he will certainly be a man of determined character. Without a simple spirituality man's life is not well-rounded.

Aldous Huxley tells us that man can see reality with passionless insight when he is filled with God. If he changes his habits of thought, feeling and action he can be saved from impending disaster. He cannot be helped because he is not prepared to collaborate with any helper. A people cannot be preserved from the horrors of war if their delights are crude and not creative. He says "You've got to help people if they're faced by war or ruin or enslavement, if they're under the menace of sudden revolution or slow degeneration.

You've got to help. But the fact remains, nevertheless, that you can't help if they persist in the course of behaviour which originally get them into trouble."

To Huxley the ideal man is the Yoga adept. He alone has escaped from the bondage of ego. He can experience God as "a free power, a pure working, a being withdrawn." The characteristics of his spirit are freedom, insight and creativity.

The present age marks the indisputable decline of man. The reason is he has taken refuge in a self-protective compromise. His decline will be cumulative and complete. For, he pledges his faith to the Anti-Christ, the Conspirator, who has a strong personality and seductive power.

Soloviev says that if the mass see the Anti-Christ can foresee. In his arsenal he carries a thirst for revenge and a relentless hatred. His gleaming thoughts are shared by the people. He stretches his arms like pincers and pursues an irrevocable, final aim. With the aid of the crafty agents of counter-revolution he will bend and sacrifice both the people and the state mechanism to his will. The disillusioned and weak personalities will graviate most readily to him.

The Anti-Christ appears when the differentiating bond between value and non-value is erased. He comes when hate and annihilation become the prime movers of history. He is near, hard by the door when our thoughts merge into a congeries of frauds.

In the coming years the Anti-Christ will raise his head again and it will be a terrible head. He will have an international network of co-operating forces. He will have his methods, his slogans and his hench-

men. He will draw his strength out of the world wreckage of ideals and character. When man is free from self-deception he can divest the Anti-Christ of his halo and see him in the plain light of truth.

The death of a civilization will prove its liberation when the great and free soul of man becomes sure and confident within itself. As Croce says, the modern is in need of the free development of the mind. He can contemplate, create and express the infinity of his feelings only when he has realised the value of personality. The modern saint is the human man.

After all the *Auflosung* (dissolution) has taken place man and society will survive in a new attitude and in a new frame-work. The spirit of man has that eternal dying which is the eternal re-birth. The integration of the self will be man's great conquest on the path to civilization.

II

The contemporary man lacks the unity of spirit. He cannot expel some obsessions from his mind. This unity can be acquired by living in one's consciousness others experience. Wilhelm Dilthey says "To reproduce is to re-live" (Nachbilden ist eben ein Nacherlaben). This "transposition of myself" or "rediscovering myself in the Thou" gives man creative vision and extends the frontiers of his spirit. By this process alone man can understand more than he knows.

In the second place, the capacity for life-expression is not developed in him. Life is a continual tension, a complex of conflicting impulses. For the adequate fulfilment of function man should have an eye

for the essential. In other words, he should have the power of discernment.

Thirdly, it requires a developed character to see true life values and to know that they are good. Such men can express their faith in their life. They can hold prejudice in check.

Vision, life-expression and character are neither a mere adornment of life nor an escape from it. But they revolutionise life. Man can attain the plenitude of his power only when his life is built on an intellectual foundation.

The mind should be ardent, questioning, a whirlpool and not a stagnant pond. It is the perplexed mind of childhood which the New Testament exalts and men of radiant genius possess that can heal our wounds. Totalitarianism will fail not for want of guns but for want of human sheep. Man's action is rooted in opinions. It is through the power of the intellect that man's salvation must come.

III

We are reared in homes of narrow creeds and awful symbols. Loyalty to a dogma has supplanted the practice of love. There is no more ideal vision than the suffering Christ. But few are warmly attracted by "long-suffering love." If a closely knit society should advance love should become not merely idealism but the only practical policy. Without the vitalising power of love ideals cease to be signposts for progress.

Clearly the human Society is in a transitional stage. The war has altered the proportion of things. It has also opened up new range of opportunities. The

new world order has become an easy peg for theories. The new order needs a vital rebel and not doctrinaire planners.

The planner is morbidly intellectual while the rebel has a truer and firmer grasp of the ethical and social problems. The planner ascribes misery and frustration to social mechanisms. The rebel breathes a genuine concern for the exploited. In the depths of his soul he longs for adventure. It is adventure that carries man from one triumph of the mind to another. It is the transformation of human character that can create new social excellence.

To identify the new order with revolution is not enough. The revolution should be for some set of values. Writes Prof. Harold Laski:

> "A civilisation at once so complex and so fragile as ours must postulate the need for scientific discovery as a primary condition of its survival. On these terms, a social order built on the denial of democracy is bound rapidly to deteriorate unless it learns, with equal rapidity, how to transform its processes of coercion into processes of consent. But, to do so, it must learn to placate grievance, and the only way to its placation lies through the high road of free discussion. Free discussion is born of security, and security, in its turn, comes only when the great majority of men feel that they have the great ends of life in common. They do not feel that now; that is why our Society is poised on the abyss of so immense a convulsion."

Laski contends that the radical thought of our time would be the outmoded fashion of the morrow. The present crisis is rooted in deeper and impersonal causes and not in the choice of evil men. He argues

that we should plan for plenty. The sovereign nation state resists its impact. This external strain must be removed. There is a vested interest in the perpetuation of ignorance. This internal strain must go.

The social ideals should have an adequate ethical dynamic. There is a need for the revival of faith in the supernatural. It should be "an insistent call to devote oneself to an end beyond the private satisfaction of personality."

Laski rejects the argument that in the economic sphere we are over-governed. For, the acquisitive impulse should be harnessed to an agreed social purpose.

The speculative temperament of Laski sees no historical uniqueness in our age. As in other periods of decay the very premises of our social life are challenged. He castigates the democratic statesmen for their sense of fear. "This fear may reveal itself less in the positive sense of active hostility to change than in the negative sense of an inert awaiting upon events." Fear paralyses the faculty of rational judgment and drives men beyond their avowed purposes. A government based on fear ends in tyranny. The concepts of change cannot be rationally argued when men are in the grip of fear. It drives men to extra-constitutional action.

The equilibrium established by the French Revolution is now broken down. The cash-nexus has ceased to provide an assured basis upon which to build a new economic order. There are many ambitions and few places. Men are not equal to the issues. Says Laski "The gale of the fundamental change is in

the air; and the rule of the middle-class rests upon a fragile and uneasy equipoise." The challenged order is the middle-class order. It can neither achieve recovery nor inaugurate a revolution by consent. It has allied itself with gang-rule. Either it must cooperate with the workers in essential revisions or transform the ends by violent revolution.

As a theorist Laski is spontaneously vital. Like the musty scholars he does not look among the empty straw for a grain. He gathers it in the sunlight. Many isolated aspects of truth splendidly emerge in his works. Strength and sincerity are powerful allies. And it is this blend that gives to Laski's political thought a rare and compelling charm.

IV

Tolstoy discerned a deep psychological truth when he wrote:

> "I know that most men—not only those considered clever, but even those who are very clever and capable of understanding most difficult scientific, mathematical or philosophic problems—can very seldom discern even the simplest and most obvious truth if it be such as to oblige them to admit the falsity of conclusions of which they are proud, which they taught to others, and on which they have built their lives."

Minds cannot escape the habits of a lifetime. The inner spirit of governments too refuses adaptation to the temper of the age. Vested interests think of recovery in terms of anti-thesis of reform. But progress cannot be brought to a standstill by their obsessions.

There have been revolts within revolts, factions

under the banner of universal love and moral leapords within the ranks of progressive forces. But the great movements of history are independent of the caprice of savants. It is the tides of life and destiny that exalted a Caesar, a Hitler, a St. Paul, and a Nehru. It is wrong to exaggerate either their freedom or their dependence on the process of history. These gifted leaders draw millions to them as a magnet. The hearts of men are to them open books. But their transforming power does not go beyond the traditions of the race and the mood of the times. They are the victims of numberless consequences. Therefore, the theory that history has direction and meaning is significant but it should not be pushed to an extreme.

There is a thread of purpose running through the present tragic events. The forces which are now brought into collision will be ultimately directed to a single end. There is a single invisible pattern beneath the shifting appearance of historical forces.

Prof. Whitehead says wisely:

> "There is an alternative to slow decline. A race may exhaust a form of civilization without having exhausted its own creative springs of originality. In that case, a quick period of transition may set in, which may or may not be accompanied by dislocations involving widespread unhappiness."

We may confidently view the present epoch as a period of transition to a new type of civilization. As Prof. Bernal points out, private and institutional greed and a desire to preserve outgrown forms are potent factors in delaying progress. However, we can graph

two definite trends: libertarian thought and pragmatic attitude.

To talk of new trends does not take a people too far. They should develop a critical consciousness in and towards these trends. They should make out which is the backwater and which is the main stream. Nicolas Berdyaev makes this acute observation:

> "I represent to my mind the new epoch which is coming, as opening up to man two roads. On this summit of history a definitive divergence is about to take place and operate. Man is at liberty to take the first road, to subordinate his being to the higher and divine principle of life and upon this earth to strengthen his own human personality. He is equally at liberty to subordinate his soul to other principles, neither divine nor human but preter-human and wicked, and to make himself their body-servant."

A crowd of high-brow scholars and also those who write to pick a poor living have presented their diagnosis of our time. They have shown some perception of the question "How does the making of the new order come about?" But their prescription is as unconvincing as the advertising copy of a patent medicine.

Herbert Read attempts to explain the riddle of progress. He sees a pattern in the interwoven fabric of our dream and discoveries. He believes that science is establishing itself on a firm ground of absolute knowledge and that on this ground philosophy is building an equally firm structure of thought. He raises the question to what end have we put these increased powers of feeling and understanding? This question

has come with an ethical challenge and potency. There is a shifting of forces and quantities. Will a qualitative change i.e. progress emerge out of this anguish?

Here is the magic specific of Reads :

> "The essence of life is change, and change implies a continuous alteration of dissolution and renewal, of growth and decay, of joy and suffering. But when night and day, storm and calm, have passed, and all the agitation of history is quiet at last. I believe something remains. Art remains. The great work of art, whether it be a temple or poem, a piece of sculpture or a system of philosophy, is exempt from change. It is irrefragable and eternal, towering in its beauty, exquisite in its strength."

True, life values revive after the inevitable phase of eclipse. Sometimes, the recovery is partial. The recovery is full when man acquires new powers and a finer sensibility. The separation between decadence and progress will become clear and the reaction towards them will become manifest as the passions and feuds spend their fury.

V

It needed the impact of World War II to understand the limits of sovereignty in revolutionary strategy. There is also the expression of a wide desire for social transformation. On a longer view, the present convulsion marks the birth of the social question.

Before 1789 the socialist ideas operated in a moral vacuum. The French Revolution was an explosive uprising against injustice. But it was individualist in character. It transferred power from the aristocracy to the middle classes. The post-revolutionary division

was between the rich and poor. The Bolshevist experiment brought about the egalitarian innovation. A solution of our present strains must be sought not in palliatives of the moment but in the adoption of a positive economic scheme.

Now the individual is a half-a-slave for the profit of economic pressure groups. He has revolted against the inhuman postulates of capitalism. He will be content to be a full slave to the community. The socialist remedy might malform humanity into a mechanical mould. But in a capitalist society a minority of paymasters have imposed the tyranny of wealth.

If we look into the abyss of man's heart we see the working of a new impulse which will soon become a new religion—socialism. It will be the formulation of a reaction against the conditions of insecurity and insufficiency. Attempts are being made to assuage this growing indignation by framing a new social programme. One truth emerges out of the present chaos that the war-lords have lost their old doctrinal framework.

Can the redemption of society be achieved by an intellectual formula? A purely moral criticism of the old regime is not enough. There is a relation between the distribution of the economic satisfaction and the power of the state. The formula would be valid if it admits the right of the state to subordinate the privileges of property to social need. And it must also seek the deliberate reconstruction of political institutions to meet the grave economic issues.

Political sociologists like Max Weber think in economic and cultural world perspectives. Max Weber

recommends an attitude which transcends the personal life and its circumstances. In his view, the guiding norms of economic philosophy should be shaped by the principle of human creativeness. He wants to save for the future "the charismatic principle in economics." Writing to his friend Otto Neurath he urges on him :

> "I regard the plans for a 'planned economy' as dilettante, objectively absolute irresponsible frivolity which may discredit, 'socialism' for a hundred years and which may throw everything that might be possible now into the abyss of a stupid reaction."

The eminent sociologist has failed to see that it is possible to harmonise the principle of controls with the principle of livingness. Service for community is compatible with human freedom.

It is a mistake to suppose that the socialist philosophy is always as soothing as a nurse. One should see in its future trend the opposing ideas of creativeness and compulsion fused into a single idea. The absorption of the individual in the collective means integration. This antithesis is a historical tumor. However, a true equilibrium is achieved when the individual and community values are synthesised.

In a sense human history is the history of a neurosis. Neurosis is created when the individual is not emotionally linked with the community. Then the individual should become a part which transforms the whole.

To canalise the stream of life into a single central channel is to destroy its spontaneity. But an uninte-

grated organism is ill-armed to resist decay from within. Therefore, a society is stable when it develops a variety of flexible institutions inspired by a common interest.

Gerald Abrahms shows how in the graph formed from the social purposes to express the socialist state the vertical axis is also the axis of Fascism. On the stage of history we see that as the war proceeds the political philosophies have become more confused. We see strange alliances, mixed motives and tangled instincts making this universal struggle muddled. The political opportunism of Russia and the departure from the principles of property and price achieved in the Lease Lend Act are solutions which the most desperate can understand and accept.

Capitalistic societies are now struggling to survive by embodying certain minima of tolerance and social justice. Social theories are slowly finding a correlate in institutions. Sir William Beveridge in his Report has not faced the fundamentals but skirted round them. His slogan "Full employment in a free society" is only a kind of narcotic to the British people before the great misery begins. Further in no country national prosperity can be secure until the international issues are settled.

VI

After the second World War people have learnt the lesson that the economic structure is at the mercy of the power-political state. The economic potential of all the states depends on the future structure of world politics.



The new political order must be a constructive formulation from the bottom to the top. It should be the Darwinism of politics. Then political principle should move towards the moral ideal. The test of harmony is unity in plurality, oneness in manyness. The creation of a Co-operative World Commonwealth on the foundations of historical actuality should be our dream-goal. Without a harmonious agreement between individual and social ethics this strength of many feelings cannot be achieved. There is no totality which is the harmony of all excellences. For there is finiteness about human effort. On the stage of history diverse idealists will urge opposed principles. Therefore, we should find a large measure of realisation of a certain type of harmony. This demands imaginative force.

The scientific planner should accept the idea that the community is distributive, not collective. As Otto von Gierke has pointed out, the collective will should exercise a preventive supervision. Then the corporative determination of will should supplement and not replace the state determination of will. It follows that the Co-operative World Commonwealth should reconcile the antithetical basic rights; the right of the collective person against the personality of the constituent member. This new spiritual entity will be a single, real collective personality.

The first requisite of back to political sanity is the creation of a pluralistic world state on a new social basis. This union compact must be a political unity, permanent and formed by a constitutional treaty. It should guarantee political *status quo* within the union. As there is no union without intervention, it will affect

the right of self-determination of the member states. In such a substantially homogeneous state sovereignty remains an open issue. It would be a unique synthesis between guarantee and homogeneity. The decentralised scheme of state functioning would be the inevitable tendency.

The relationship of authority and liberty and of organisation and function should be based on this new federative theory. It is a theory of equilibrium which recognises the inter-dependent nature of the universe. It is not a procrustean formula. Within the collectivity freedom of individuals and groups is encouraged. The first world community will come within the sphere of practical politics when the fifty-six states renounce the conception of absolute state sovereignty. This involves the adventure of thought. If our epoch should preserve the redefined values of life then the planners should calculate this end and reach it.

VII

The new system of controls is more than ripples of change in our civilization. Man is a victim of technologies. His total surrender to a mechanical process has created nullity. If his mind refuses to liberate itself from a mechanical civilization then he can never experience the joys of authentic life. It is wrong to label such a reaction a false spirituality or vital primitivism.

The powers of the machine are used for a moral purpose. This rule of the machine has dehumanised man. He feels he is a weary bit of a clock-work al-

ways carrying out the same small operation. In truth, he is dissolved in the economic collective.

The economic environment has a bearing on human anxieties and fates. The total human consciousness of the divine will suffer in a totalitarian system. By spiritual integration a higher type of planned order can be evolved.

Man feels the ideal presences in the bursting seed or opening flower. They are not discerned in dynamo's and machine-tool grinders. Superior to the logic of mechanisation is the beautiful instinct of life. The first perfume of the new order must be a new spiritual outlook which embodies thoughts of beauty, power and feeling. It should reawaken the eternal in the soul.

If the totalitarian system guarantees bread God has given us the power to breathe in sleep. At the root of the contemporary man's failure lies the attempt to capture a pattern of life which eliminates its inner values. He has allowed the central authority to mould not only the economic issues but his emotional life also.

In a small community group life is preserved by its self-regulating powers. In a mass society lack of conscious direction leads to chaos. A new social discipline enables the small-scale man to reap the values of a large-scale society. In the authoritarian regimes the surrender of the cultural heritage to a body of experts has petrified man. In a planned order freedom is possible if the social forces are regulated according to the democratically agreed wishes of the community.

Without an emotionalisation of the new issues man cannot inhale the future. Prof. Karl Mannheim holds that the rebirth of religion both as a popular movement and as a regenerated leadership should coincide with the new social ferment. It is only religion that can give the clue to conquer the quivering, pure present, the Now. We should bring the light of the crystallised, set eternities to the issues of the instant present.

The social edifice must be raised on the everlasting gems of religion. For, the establishment of a set of basic virtues gives stability to life. The atmosphere of good living is generated when a consistent way of life prevails.

VIII

The moulding of a new pattern of society where "folly gets tired and aggressiveness loses heart" is the work of a creative spirit. It is difficult to envisage an unplanned, mobile and quivering world as a one-activity-area. Further, a dynamic society knows no finished crystallisation. All we can say is that a political order which fails to make living in it a genuine experience will succumb to the insurgent throb of confusion.

It is obvious that the life of the coming man will find meaning and fulfilment within the framework of a planned society. But the fact remains that without a religious frame of reference the new social structure will sap and destroy the intense livingness of man. It must be admitted that a life-attitude has little chance of acceptance unless it is based on sociological knowledge.

The new order will have no values, no purpose and no stability if it develops indifference to men of vision. Vampire values spring from leaders of group passion. Great values are nourished in all the fullness of their beauty, truth and peace in a Mahavira, a Buddha, a Confucius, a Christ and a Gandhi. The scale of values in which had raced the hot blood of a mystic percolates down to the utilitarian level of the many. He communicates these unique personal ideas to the world and socialises them. Their unhidden power can animate a civilisation.

Will an age which has evolved the trashy and transient machine-culture listen to the luminous words of a mystic whose vision is the very core and spirit of history?

For the generation of the Gandhian Era the higher truths have not lost their meaning. Gandhism besides being in itself a valid achievement has a pivotal importance for the future. The nervelessness of the older beliefs has given it the chance to provide the banal humanity a new and vivid faith.

Gandhism is a single contemporary influence which has given a unique place for moral values in the scheme of life. It is intensely realised and intensely immediate. Emotions like self-doubt disbelief, violence, vulgarity, frustration, cynicism, acquisitiveness and irrationality are brought within the range of Gandhi's craftsmanship and transformed into significant attitudes. He should be given the chance to impose his realistic faith sharply and lastingly on the souls of men.

The faith that should find its right and proper outlet in the service of created life is now forced to operate upon a limited region. This reservoir full of possibilities is denied to the human community. There is a harmony between the creative vision of Gandhi and the spiritual urgencies of his time. The world in trance cannot get a new efflorescence of culture until it sees a a free India, a new tradition and a more receptive Gandhi. A moral personality uncurbed by any fetters or attachments can assess and overcome the powers of darkness.

When our freedom-movement has won the day, Gandhism which is a purely Indian instrument now will become the certain acquisition of man. Its value for us is that millions are pursuing it with heroic integrity and courage. Whether realised in any one's life-time or not the striving for truth and freedom exists and endures.

IX

This war is a crisis in the philosophy of existential choice. By an act of creative choice our generation must remake value-standards. To live is to act, and to act is to choose. To choose Gandhian essences is to choose the spirit of the stars. It dispels masses of cloud and phantom which shroud the reality of life.

The present tension and discontents will accumulate until their challenge is met. If the established habits and institutions become ossified against them it will only lead to their violent dissolution.

The activities of men flow from the three basic attitudes formed by their thoughts, feelings and desires. In thought we see the world as a mighty pro-

cess. In feeling we find this process governed by a set of values. In desire we project ends to the content given by these values. As Gandhism aims at world soul, truth-force and suffering love it has a technique and philosophy underlying these attitudes. When these attitudes are in conflict society is unstable and when they coelesce society is peaceful.

The web of individual and community life is woven of these three golden threads: thought, feeling and desire. The unity between these three ways of seeing constitutes the World-View (*Weltanschauung*). By quickening the vision, harmonising emotions and accepting fixed principles Gandhism is working its way as an answer to the riddle of life.

Gandhism is not experiencing a historic turn: it is that turn. The regal thought of the ages has come back to us in the person of Gandhi. His doctrines are not the secret possession of a coterie. Their organised bearers are the raw plebs.

Thinkers and poets of an epoch understand the laughter and tears of their time and express them with verve and native shrewdness. Few of them have fidelity to their aim and fewer still open our eyes to the beauty of the human spirit.

Hegel has taught mankind that the essence of all things is world reason. Schopenhauer retorts that at the base of all happenings lies the blind will, the urge. This gloomy prophet writes:

> "Every human life as a whole shows the qualities of a tragedy, and we see that life, in general, consists only of hopes gone astray, thwarted plans and errors recognised too late."

He holds that life is a delusion and love is the quintessence of all swindles.

The misguided student of Hegel, Marx believes in the supposed economic kernel of all things. Heine calls this a work-a-day sentiment and it has spread over Europe like a grey dusk. Richard Wagner offers us another image:

> "With all our far-flung state and national economy, we seem to be caught in a dream, first it lulls, then it frightens, and in the end it oppresses. We are all eager to waken. But the strange thing about this dream is that as long as we are in it, we regard it as real life and struggle against awakening as against death."

In Wagner's eyes the white sons of God are declining.

Friedrich Nietzsche curses nationalism and race hatred for creating national itch and blood poisoning. But he wants the destinies of the world to be controlled by philosophical despots and artist tyrants.

A vision of historical growth is developed by Winckelmann, Herder, Niebuhr, Jokob Grimm, Guizot, and Tocquille. They regard the life of mind as a historical product. In their view knowledge is a way to the satisfaction of the heart. William Dilthey finds in inner experience a firm anchorage for thought. He calls it "Directing the gaze of knowledge behind the eye itself."

Men of genius like Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, Augustine, Kautilya, Machiavelli, Samkara, Pascal and Mointaigne could see into the very depths of life. Their reflections on life present the sociologist a task and a material. Unfortunately these thinkers have

not formulated a universally valid pattern of life. Gandhi alone has given mankind a doctrine which rests upon a lived experience (*erbelen*) and an immediate awareness (*Innewerden*).

Gandhism is a new force confronting the spirit of the time. It tells us that man is bound by the reality of life. But he is liberated by his heightened consciousness. A sharing of life is possible if we understand and move with the life-process itself. Living through religion opens up to man limitless tracts of life.

Without a consciousness of God neither the basic esthetic attitude of the beautiful nor the psychical fact of the community can be understood. Like Goethe, Gandhi sees the fairest fruit of the historical vision in the heart, in sensitivity.

Above the will of tyrants and the destinies of states stands the world life. Gandhi alone can compel history to yield its last secret—a World Co-operative Commonwealth. The historical hour has come when Gandhian thinking will pass over to Gandhian institutions.

The world salutes the Mahatma who has freed man's mind from the finite, limited interests and brought it within the embrace of a world-purpose. The drive of his thought is based on value and end, and on the positive consciousness of the inwardness of the world.

IX

A World-Eurpose.

I

THE changing world needs a new postulate which presents a common life attitude amid the variations of purpose. The new postulate must be a new tendency of thought which makes itself felt in a given social setting. It should develop in the individual an awareness of life in its wholeness and a capacity to face the riddle of the world with a heightened reason. This concept should seek the world-purpose in all activity.

Without this drive of a world-principle there can be no solidarity of interests. Then the naunces of outlook should unite in a single type. In this age of half-forgotten certainties and sophisticated doubt the Gandhian concept remains unmutilated. Out of this welter of confusion and frustration Gandhism emerges more precise, more assured. It has given man a common purpose which sanctifies his suffering and endows a new meaning to his life and action. Let us now see this concept in action.

II

In its historical level Gandhism accepts man as the creature of time. Man is a link in the historical

process. Therefore, his life-values cannot be lifted out of the stream of time. Disillusion and loss of vital potential come when the historical consciousness is obscure. To be realistic and healthy a society needs more than peace and stability: it needs a sense of historical purpose.

(2) Its philosophical foundation is formed by the most revealing intuitions. It is a philosophy of self-analysis and deliberate choice. It enables man to discover his fundamental attitude to life and the society. Then it summons to reduce all his actions to conformity with those assumptions. The driving force offered by this philosophy is the vision of a more balanced view of life and the world. It also emphasises the sovereignty of man in face of the world-process.

(3) In its biological level Gandhism believes in the uniqueness of man and exhorts rulers to act on that knowledge. It infuses a feeling of moral significance into the facts of evolution. Gandhism is rooted in the belief that the world of life is higher than the world of inert matter and that the world of spirit is higher than that of a satiated life.

(4) Gandhism maintains that society is organic but it is not now sufficiently organised. Though our morality is tinged with falsehood and our guiding precepts are of base metal yet thought is richer than reality and the springs of life higher than the prevailing social relations. The theory of social atomatism is hostile to its spirit. A divine scheme assigns man an individual position in society. By virtue of this difference alone he can co-operate. The universal is

unity manifested in difference. It prescribes harmonization of a total world as the social end. This social co-operation should be achieved through identity and not similarity.

(5) The esthetic elements of Gandhism are vision and utterance and therefore art and beauty. Vision awakens the spirit of art. Beauty is its experience. Art is a phase of the spirit and it should thoroughly permeate the mass. Thus Gandhism by no means denies a rich throbbing of life. It says that works bearing the stamp of truth and love are utterances of art and embodiments of beauty.

The machine has distracted man's attention from the esthetic emotion. He has subordinated himself to its technical demands. The man-hours are tied to machines and man is condemned to sterile service. His recovery can be brought about by inward effort, spiritual impulse.

(6) All revolutionary experiments must meet on the testing-ground of organic fitness. The new economic mechanisms too must be organically vital. The utmost banality of imagination is shown by persons who are opposed to the introduction of responsibility to social and economic power. Gandhism calls for radical economic decisions against a background of liberties. International economic planning will be the main driving force of the opening age. In that framework of thought the needs of our culture must be satisfied and technique should be brought to a richer fruition.

(7) The modern world is unstable because it is the expression of an unappeased spiritual hunger. By

ignoring the moral aims man is living in a nightmare. The doctrine of Gandhism brings man a conviction of moral certainty and a scheme of national redemption. He may see the path dimly lit but he knows that he is dedicated. His own life becomes trivial in comparison with the world purpose that works in him and through him. A new world order cannot be created except through the self-discipline, the moral idealism and the concentration of energy that come from the Gandhian concept.

(8) In the name of the new Gods of Power, Race, Nation and Evolution maniacs are drenching continents in blood. The razor-edge of thought and the claim of conscience are blunted by the naked doctrine of power. In creeds which promise national egoism and class selfishness the new tyranny has taken root and is flourishing.

Man has undergone his martyrdom. A world-purpose and a world-view haunt his imagination. They insist on his going back from false Gods to political morality. They give a human meaning to the vast political issues. Gandhism always insists on freedom which is the basis of human dignity, equality which revives freedom in double strength and happiness which rests on a higher ethics and a deeper religion. Its political thought declares that no slave should be buried alive beneath the corner-stone of the new order.

III

Gandhi is the the king of his own realm, the spiritual realm. His mystical charm eludes the critical microscope. In him there is no clear distinction be-

tween the mystic and the politician. The most convincing clue to his personality is offered by his relation to the living power of love. The potential mystic in Gandhi grasps the ultimate spiritual truth. And his politics is consciously influenced by it. It becomes grist to its mill.

Gandhi has diagnosed the forces operating in the contemporary society. He has understood the causes which have brought about its instability. He alone can galvanize the moral resources available in it for progress. A firm anchorage for peace can be found in Gandhism, in its inner experience and universal outlook. It lifts us from the realm of individual interests and hopes and sorrows into the clearer air of world principles.

Men cannot remain for long in the dirty little world of trenches, pill-boxes and pincer movements, and survive. Those who are spared by fate by this blood-letting will accept the necessary truths not as an urge, but as a principle. The central Gandhian truths of liberty, identity, truth and love will claim homage from all but the essential savage.

Gandhi should undertake the critical labour of bringing Europe back to life, a traditional habit of life. Europe cannot experience peace for a hundred years unless it understands the beauty, the infinity and the heroism of Gandhi's ethic.

If the western world should not collapse into nihilism or degenerate into worship of perverse forces then it should return to the ethical standards of Jesus. The moral bullying of a mystic should be preferred to the cast-iron system of a dictator.

In Europe men of courage and spirit, of conviction and foresight, who fortified the soul of the people and gave it confidence have joined factional networks. There will be no end to pain and suffering till the west finds a healer who can renew its entire soul.

A more limpid concept of reality and life will be restored to Europe by a hero of the war of the spirit. It is only from a moral ferment that a new political life can spring.

IV

One may not abide Gandhi's mysticism. But one must admit the significance of his personality and its bearing on the history of civilisation. Gandhi's mysticism accepts the existence of a perfect creative first cause of the universe and an endless world-plan as its final aim. The recognition of evil around him does not make him a sceptic. His *weltanschauung* or world-view develops in him an affirmative attitude towards life. The power of resistance against evil lies not in emotions but in soul, an unconscious consciousness. It is the belief that this soul lies hidden in God that accounts for the eminently ethical character of Gandhi.

His spiritual life is not grounded on a process of reasoning. Dialectic cannot give life stability and direction. Therefore, the fundamental attitude of Gandhi's mind is ethical optimism. His conscious inner life receives the misery of created life. Prof. Albert Schweitzer observes :

> "Ethics are pity. All life is suffering. The will-to-live which has attained to knowledge is therefore seized with deep pity for all creatures.

It experiences not only the woe of mankind, but of all creatures with it."

Gandhism is compassion in action. His reflection on the world brings more compassion to his life. Europe is now the appalling symbol of a civilisation which has drifted away from true compassion. According to Schweitzer, it is ethical thought that enables man to wander in the innermost circles of world history. Morality alone can mould reality.

The uplifting emancipating power of Gandhi is born of the reaction of his will to compassion, of a character which can transform emotions into efforts. That is why, Gandhism is a faith of horizons. The range of this faith is infinitely widened by its firm faith in an ethical and affirmative view of life and the world. It places political ideas under the guardianship of ethical ideals.

The ethic of Gandhi, like the ethic of Jesus, is activist. His world-view shares the optimism of Jesus. Jesus sees human perfection in the capacity for repentence. Gandhi comprehends it in the inner worth of group-life. Jesus visualises the spiritual perfection of man. Gandhi aspires to raise the mass to a high spiritual plane and concieves the process as never-ending. Like Jesus Gandhi is a wonder for all time.

Civilisation is a soul. For, all life-values are rooted in the soul. To attain to civilisation is to believe in a creative God and the survival of the personality. Civilisation triumphs when man develops a joyful consciousness of God and a deep reverence towards all life.

The western man may never return to God, but he must return to a sane life-view.